

Material Concerning Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Years of the Revolution (1917-1921)

**Collection of Documents and Testimonies
by Prominent Jewish Political Workers**

Preface by F. Pigido — Head of the Editorial Board

THE UKRAINIAN INFORMATION BUREAU
Munich, Germany
1956

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P R E F A C E

Ukrainian-Jewish relations have a long history on whose pages many bright moments have been recorded. In the last few centuries these relations have developed quite normally. In the basic programs of the Ukrainian political parties and of the various social organizations we find no question raised as to the need or possibility of limiting freedom and rights of other nationality groups living in the Ukraine. On the contrary, the Ukrainian political and social organizations, as well as the Ukrainian people as a whole have always taken the most sympathetic attitude toward all nationalities, including Jews, oppressed by Russian imperialism.

Dr. Arnold Margolin, a prominent Jewish social and political worker, one of the founders of the Jewish Territorial Organization in Russia (1906), gives us a very interesting description of relations between the Ukrainian farmers and the Jews. He relates in his work "The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente" (Memorandum by a Jew and a Citizen) how, at a meeting, arranged before elections to the first Russian Parliament, one of the proposed candidates of the Constitutional Democrats ("Kadets") and of the group of Laboring Peasants in the Tchernihiv Province, one of the proposed candidates of the Constitutional Democrats was rejected by a ballot and, instead, Dr. A. Margolin was nominated by a large majority upon the motion of the peasant group. For certain reasons, Dr. Margolin had to withdraw his candidature in Tchernihiv province in order to run for office as a representative of the Union for full qualification of Jews" in Kiev Province. Here the largest vote of all the 15 candidates of the Alliance was received by V. M. Tchekhovsky (later Premier of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic) and by A. Margolin. When, however, the eligibility qualifications of A. Margolin were questioned by the Russian Administration, and consequently his name was removed from the ballot, a provincial election meeting decided at the proposal of the peasant section to send a protest to the Russian Premier against the unlawful removal of Margolin's name from the list of candidates. This attitude of the peasant sections in the Ukrainian provinces of Kiev and Tchernihiv is particularly interesting in showing the expression of full confidence in a Jew by the peasants who were not afraid to place the handling of their affairs into Jewish hands. It was appraised at that time, writes A. Margolin, "as an indicator of the

peasants' attitude towards Jews, as a symbol of peasants' efforts toward friendly cooperation with the Jewish people."¹⁾

These friendly relations stood a series of tests during the years of the Revolution—we have in mind the development of Jewish-Ukrainian relations and the anti-Jewish pogroms which took place in the years 1917—1921 mainly in the territory of the Ukraine. It has been the habit for the last few years to put those pogroms on the account of the Ukrainian people. Even today we meet with various estimates of those tragic events; even today, because of their ignorance of the facts, or on the grounds of tradition that for various reasons has grown up during the last forty years, some circles accuse the whole Ukrainian nation and the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic for those pogroms.

The Kremlin rulers, in order to discredit the national Ukrainian liberation movement, and especially the Ukrainian Government and its Head and Chief Commander Simon Petlura, deliberately twisted the facts trying to put the blame for the pogroms on the leaders of the Ukrainian Republic. In the same way the representatives of the former tsarist ruling circles made great efforts to disgrace the Ukrainian liberation movement by falsely accusing the Ukrainian leaders of pogrom-making.

Dr. A. Margolin in his above mentioned work, "The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente," in characterizing the circumstances of the war between Russia and Ukraine in 1917—1920, writes:

Such is the fate of all new and young movements. Habitual disposition to, and longing for the old map of Eastern Europe, furthermore, the agitation conducted by a very large number of notorious Russian intellectuals with centralistic views and with a knowledge of languages, created an atmosphere of distrust toward the Ukrainian movement. Its enemies did not loathe slander in trying to present the Ukrainian political parties and the Ukrainian government simultaneously as Bolsheviks and as reactionary pogrom makers. This is why both Lansing and the British government stubbornly supported Denikin and Koltchak for such a long time. The fault in their schemes and plans together with their ignorance and misunderstanding of the real and new aspirations of the nations of old Russia became clear somewhat later, when Denikin's and Koltchak's forces, armed by Great Britain and the USA, standing at the zenith of their strength, showed themselves to be practicing the darkest reaction and anti-Semitism.²⁾

¹⁾ A. Margolin: "The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente." Publ. by S. Efron, Berlin, 1931, pp. 19—20.

²⁾ Ibid., pp. 301—302.

We have no intention of examining here fully the question of Jewish-Ukrainian relations in their historical development; it would require a special investigation. We will state here only generally that the attacks against the Jews in the Middle Ages are to be considered as originating rather on social than nationalistic or religious grounds. The Jews who came to the Ukraine from the West were of an urban background, and were proficient as traders and business people more so than the Ukrainian population, and therefore they performed mostly the functions of assistants to the Polish ruling classes: as lessees of whisky-bars, as administrators of estates, etc. It is clear that during uprisings against the oppression of the Polish ruling nobles the anger of the people was directed as well upon the immediate executors of the will of the rulers, that is, upon Jews.

The purpose of this collection is to call the reader's attention to a series of documents relating to the period of the Ukrainian revolution, and to the Russian-Ukrainian War—the documents which serve as direct and objective witnesses often speaking more effectively than any long essays can. To these documents belong:

1. The Decrees and Orders issued by the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and its Appeals to the People;
2. The Decrees and Orders of the White-Russian Gen. Denikin who at one time had control over quite an area of the Ukraine;
3. Memoirs of contemporaries who were direct witnesses of the tragedy, namely, prominent Jewish political and social workers, writers, and scientists.

While discussing the question of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine in 1917—1921, we must take into consideration a series of moments in the historical background, which make it possible to understand why the Ukraine became the territory of those pogroms.

First of all, it must be stated here that Russian imperialist reaction was very carefully being planted precisely in the Ukraine, serving as a prop for the ruling circles around the tsarist throne—and that was the basis of the whole tragedy of the Jewish, and at the same time of the Ukrainian people.

We shall point out the following most important moments in the historical background of these events.

The area where Jews had been allowed to settle (the so called "Zone of Settlement") by the laws of the former Russian empire was the Ukraine, and therefore, a population of about 2,500,000 Jews was concentrated here. Some members of a few privileged groups were permitted to reside in the Russian provinces and in the province of the Don Cossacks. Rich merchants, persons of high scientific learning, and the

like belonged to the privileged groups. According to the official census of 1897,³⁾ the number of Jews in various Ukrainian Provinces amounted from 7% to 10% of the whole population in respective provinces, reaching 20% to 36% in large cities, and 47% to 98% in small towns. In the Russian provinces, however, this number was merely. 1%, only in the counties around the city of Moscow it increased to .2%, and around Petrograd—to .6%. Jews had also the right to settle within the boundaries of the so called Polish Kingdom as well as in the Lithuanian and White-Ruthenian Provinces, but these territories separated from Russia at the start of the Revolution of 1917 forming independent nations, and therefore we shall not deal with them here. '

The tsarist government in the course of centuries had been basing its domestic autocratic and reactionary policy on habitual drunkenness (with its state monopoly of alcohol), and on organized anti-Semitism, both of which were carefully fostered by the state organs. The just wrath of the people against the existing social order and against the arbitrary despotism of Russian bureaucracy was always sidetracked by the tsarist regime in the direction of the Jews. The reactionary circles who ruled the Russian empire were always trying to explain all their own failures, and all the misery among the people with alleged intrigues by world Jewry. In order to sow hatred among the various nationalities of the empire, the tsarist rulers did not stop even before such fantastic slander as accusing Jews of ritual murders perpetrated against Christian children (viz. the well-known trial against Beiliss in Kiev). The Ukraine, that "Zone of Settlement" where large masses of Russian Jews were compelled to gather, was turned into a base of the darkest reaction. It was exactly in the Ukraine, and precisely in Kiev, that the organ of the Russian pogrom mongers, "The Kievlanin" ("Kiev News") was published (in Russian) by the well-known Mr. Pikhno; in the same Kiev, Vitaly Shulgin, that equally well-known Russian reactionary pogrom monger, pursued his activities; here also had been planted by the Russian reactionaries such infamous Russian organizations as "The Alliance of Archangel Michael," "The union of Russian People," "The Alliance of the Two-headed Eagle," and other Black-Hundred alliances, all of them acting as organizers of anti-Jewish pogroms. These organizations recruited their membership from among a city population that was mostly Russian, and from the city dregs of society.

After the Revolution the criminal activity of these organizations did not stop, although formally they did not exist any more. In Kiev, for instance, the Russian monarchists circulated a proclamation in which we find the following appeal:

³⁾ D. Mendeleyev: "Know Russia." Buenos Aires, 1952 (in Russian).

Awake, Russian people! Not long ago the sun was shining, Kiev was visited by the Russian tsar, but now Jews are everywhere. We will shake off this yoke, we can not endure it any longer. They will lead our country to destruction. Down with Jews! Unite, Russian people! Give us a tsar! ⁴⁾

In addition to this tsarist inheritance, it is necessary to mention some special circumstances which played a tremendous part in producing pogroms precisely in the territory of the Ukraine.

In the first place, the Ukraine was the frontline area for the armies of millions of soldiers, which operated on the South-Western and on the Rumanian fronts in World War I. Already at the beginning of the Revolution of 1917, great masses of fugitives from the front had gathered within the Ukrainian land; they were the deserters who "played politics" in the nearby front cities of the Ukrainian territory on the right, and partially on the left bank of the Dnieper. It is stated in the Order of October 1, 1917, to the South-Western Army that:

"The areas of Ushytsi, Mohyliv, Lityn, Latytciv, Starokonstyantyniv, Iziaslav, Ostroh, and others groan under the pressure of the invading propagandized bands..." ("Kievskaya Mysl," Oct. 10, 1917. Order No. 1021.)

V. Kedrovsky, the former Chief Inspector of the Army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, proved that the first organized pogrom in the Ukraine was perpetrated by the Russian Second Guard Corps. During that pogrom in Podolia Province, 17 Ukrainian villages were devastated and burnt down. (V. Kedrovsky: "The Struggle Against Pogroms in the Ukraine." "Svoboda," 1933, New Jersey.)

The well-known Jewish writer, I. Tcherikover, speaking on the origin of anti-Jewish pogroms, writes: ⁵⁾

The frontline as well as the roads for the demobilized soldiery led through Jewish cities and towns which covered the Dnieper's right bank in the Ukraine like a thick net. All consequences of the wilful demobilization and of the unsuccessful war fell first of all upon the Jewish population of the front area... 'Anarchy seizes our country more and more into its clutches,' we read in a letter from Volhynia. 'The Jewish population finds itself in a particularly bad situation. People in soldiers' uniforms are plundering, devastating, burning down. The horror that is suffered

⁴⁾ "The Dawn" ("Rassvet"), 6. X. 1917, No. 9 (in Russian).

⁵⁾ I. Tcherikover: "Anti-Semitism and Pogroms in the Ukraine in 1917—1918." Published by the "Eastern Jewish Historical Archives". Berlin, 1923.

by the population is indescribable. The soldiers here call themselves Bolsheviks; they create terror and increase anarchy.' 'These are not our people, we are not Ukrainians!', they say. This is the line of their reasoning and action.⁶⁾

The anarchy increased particularly after the Russian defeat at Ternopil, writes Tcherikover (*Ibid.*, p. 50). The primitive Bolshevik agitation had a remarkable success among the soldiers. The exhausted and unruly soldiers began to leave the front wilfully. On their way they plundered landowners' estates, and cities. Distilleries and various governmental warehouses were plundered and devastated. The elementary waves of plunder grew sometimes into drunken pogroms. The Russian army retreating from Galicia devastated the cities of Ternopil and Kalush. During these activities there was plundering, raping and murdering of Jewish people mainly.

We must state, however, that the reader of the above-mentioned work by I. Tcherikover, is sometimes astonished with the author's unexpected conclusions. A Jewish writer, a patriot, and in our opinion, a sincere man and an honest researcher—he is indeed able to analyze objectively the events which took place during exceedingly complicated times and conditions. But at the same time he remains still fully possessed by his political bias which sometimes influences negatively the objectivity of his conclusions. He, evidently, cannot forgive the Ukrainian movement its striving for independence, calling this striving "national Bolshevism", "wilful mutiny", etc. (p. 48); he cannot forgive the Ukrainian government its proclamation (by its Fourth Decree)

"of severing all legal state connections with Russia—an act sanctioning the dismemberment of Russia, and thus separating the Jewish population in Russia into two parts..." (*Ibid.*, p. 71).

In spite of a series of grave thrusts against the Ukrainians—thrusts that generally are not supported by facts—I. Tcherikover tries to remain an objective researcher, although he does not always succeed, due to his prejudice, and to his primary thesis that for pogroms the rapacious ("haydamak") inclinations of the Ukrainian peasantry are to be blamed (p. 14). Nevertheless, our advice to everyone is to read this book which, no doubt, is interesting and rich in factual material (of which some excerpts are to be found in this collection). We also recommend to the reader who would like to inquire into the first sources of this question, the works by other authors who have been cited here, viz. by Dr. A. Margolin, Dr. C. Goldelman, N. Shtif, and H. Rakovsky.

⁶⁾ "Archives of the Minister for Jewish Affairs." Report of the Jewish Association in the city of Sudylkiv, Volhynian Province. Dec. 13, 1917. (File No. 293). Quoted after Tcherikover.

An equally serious circumstance that contributed toward the anti-Jewish pogroms in Ukrainian territory was the fact that during the years of the Revolution, the Ukrainian area became the field of military activity of the civil war, or rather, of the Russian-Ukrainian war, first against the Reds, then against the White-Guard conquerors, or against both of them at the same time. The Russian Bolsheviks, the armies of Denikin and later of Wrangel, the Polish army—all of them occupied at various times small or large pieces of Ukrainian territory. Besides these regular army units, there were active in the Ukraine many insurgent or partisan detachments, or even simply robber bands which were recruited from the scum of various nationalities. Very often only a small part of Ukrainian territory remained under the control of the Ukrainian Republic; the rest was occupied by the above mentioned armies which frequently practiced violence upon the defenseless population—both Jews and Ukrainians. We will mention only Muravyov's butchery in Kiev (January 1918), or Denikin's "Bartholomew's Massacres" in the same Kiev and in many other Ukrainian cities.

The anti-Jewish pogroms perpetrated by the demoralized units of the tsarist armies in 1917, were soon replaced by still more cruel pogroms arranged by the Bolshevik Red Guards and Red Marine units at the beginning of 1918 during the retreat of Bolsheviks from the Ukraine under the pressure of the German and Ukrainian armies. Somehow very little is known in the West about these pogroms which were perpetrated by the Bolshevik detachments, and about the role played in them by the Bolshevik Petrograd Government of the People's Commissars. The above mentioned Jewish writer, I. Tcherikover (see the short excerpt from his work in this collection) tells us about the horror of Hlukhiv, Novhorod-Siversk, and other Bolshevik pogroms. The cruelty revealed there by the Red Guards and Marines was quite equal to the cruelty of the Denikin pogroms later. I. Tcherikover relates in the same place that Bolshevik Petrograd intentionally and carefully kept silent on these pogroms. The Petrograd Government in its report on the occupation of Hlukhiv by the "brave Boslavl detachment" calls the Hlukhiv pogrom, one of the most horrible of that time, merely "a battle episode." During mass demonstrations of protest arranged in Petrograd as well as at the special meeting of the Petrograd Soviet,—writes I. Tcherikover, the orators spoke only about the "butchery of Jews in the Ukraine, and of Armenians in the Caucasus," and the fact of the Red Army's pogroms in Hlukhiv and in other cities in the Ukraine was again concealed. We see that only those places were mentioned, which were occupied by the Ukrainians, Germans and Rumanians... It is also noteworthy that "neither the bloody events in Hlukhiv, nor in Novhorod-Siverks were investigated by the Soviet Government, the guilty ones were not punish-

ed at all, and no importance whatever was assigned to the 'episode'..." (I. Tchernikover, *Ibid.*, pp. 147—151).

A. Margolin in his already mentioned work, "The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente," affirms that there were no pogroms in the Ukraine either during the rule of the Ukrainian Central Council, or during Hetman's rule, or in the first three months of the Ukrainian directorate regime. Pogroms came later when the Ukrainian army, withdrawing westward under pressure from the Bolsheviks, was joined by various criminal elements and by a large number of White Guard officers from Hetman's bodyguard. It must be noted here, that those "otamans" and "colonels" with no less consequence smashed the Ukrainian workers' and other social organizations in the areas which had fallen under their control.⁷⁾

Solomon Goldelman, the well-known participant in the events of that time, later a university professor in Western Europe, now a university professor at Jerusalem, explains the causes of pogroms during the rule of the Ukrainian directorate as follows:

... In March 1919 news of pogroms began arriving: Ovrutch, Berdytchiv, Zhytomir were the first victims of the demoralization of the army, of its retreat before the Bolsheviks, of the provocative work of the Russian officers, of the criminal misunderstanding of national interests on the part of the Ukrainian otamans, and of the complete helplessness of the Central Government—the directorate.⁸⁾

Somewhat further down S. Goldelman writes:

Proskuriv had been occupied by the Ukrainian Army... there was no pogrom after that. The city was occupied by the Zaporozhe Corps with colonel Salsky at its head. He is a serious man, and a European type. This again confirms what I have always been saying: pogroms are not being perpetrated by the Ukrainian people as a whole, but by the criminal otamans, commandants, officers, and by all that scum who readily joined partisans and insurgents exploiting them for their own dark purposes."

Characterizing that period, A. Margolin writes in the above mentioned work:

⁷⁾ Pavlo Khrystiuk: "Notes and Materials on History of the Ukrainian Revolution 1917—1920." Vol. 4, pp. 55—58.

⁸⁾ Solomon Goldelman: Letters of a Jewish Social-Democrat on the Ukraine. Materials concerning History of the Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the time of the Revolution. Vienna, 1921. Jewish publishers "Haymon" in the Ukraine (p. 48).

...At any event one has to be careful with generalizations. In the same way as we Jews justly disavow responsibility for all actions of the Jewish Commissars, and for the loathsome behavior of the Jews who participated in the work of the Extraordinary Commissions ('Tcheka'), the Ukrainian people have a full right to disavow responsibility for their own scum who have branded themselves by the crime of pogroms. Let us suppose that among the Ukrainians there are 200, or 300, or even 500 thousand criminal pogrom makers, nevertheless this branding can not be spread over the rest of more than 30 millions of the indigenous Ukrainian population. Therefore when we say 'all Ukrainians are pogrom makers,' we make ourselves similar to those who affirm that 'all Jews are Bolsheviks'...⁹⁾

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic led a continuous stubborn fight against the wilfulness of the dissolute bands of which there were many in the Ukraine, and especially against pogroms, to be sure, in the territory under its control. This is corroborated by many Appeals to the Ukrainian population, Orders of the Government of the Ukrainian Republic and of the Chief Commander of the Ukrainian Forces, Simon Petlura, as well as of many other commanders of the army, and of the separate army units. This is also confirmed by quite numerous verdicts returned by military courts, and by the shooting of those who participated in pogroms. Many documents concerning those cases have been included in this collection.

This attitude of the Ukrainian Government toward anti-Jewish pogroms found its reflection in Memoirs and other works by a series of prominent Jewish writers, scientists, social and political workers (Dr. Arnold Margolin, Dr. Solomon Goldeleman, I. Tcherikover and others), many excerpts of which are to be found in this collection.

Such an attitude of the Ukrainian Government found an adequate echo also among the Jewish population. Politically organized Jewish groups took a friendly position in reference to the Government's measures, and actively supported them (viz. such Jewish parties as "Poaley-Zion," "The Jewish National Party," etc.). When in June, 1919, Western Ukrainian (Galician) Army units were compelled by the pressure from Polish forces to withdraw to East-Ukrainian territory, they were accompanied also by separate Jewish military formations, who had been fighting side by side for their common fatherland against the Poles and now came to the East to take part together with the army of the Ukrainian Republic in battles against the Bolsheviks, and against Denikin as well.

⁹⁾ A. Margolin, *ibid.*, pp. 320—321.

The vigorous measures of the Ukrainian Goverment against pogroms have been also adequately evaluated by other international Jewish circles, and this is confirmed by the letter of a Jewish writer in Great Britain, Izrael Zangwill, which is included in this collection. The well-known Zionist Mr. Zhabotynsky in estimating the role of the Ukrainian Government and of Ukrainian leading groups in the struggle against anti-Jewish pogroms, writes:

"It is a fact that neither Petlura, nor Vynnychenko, nor any other prominent members of the Ukrainian Government were pogrom makers. I have grown up with them, and I have fought together with them against anti-Semitism; no one will ever succeed in convincing any Zionist of Southern Russia, or myself, that people of such type can be qualified as anti-Semites"¹⁰⁾

The cultural and political rights of national minorities in the Ukraine (Russians, Jews, Poles and others) had always due understanding and acknowledgement on the part of the Ukrainian Government. Special attention was paid to the Jewish population as to a natural ally of the Ukrainian people, who had suffered a particularly cruel oppression during the tsarist regime.

As an illustration of this, we shall mention in a few words some of the most important measures taken by the Ukrainian Government for the purpose of assuring the normal development of cultural, economic, and political activities of the Jewish population in the Ukraine.

The Jewish language was recognized as one of the official languages, and Jewish schools were established. At the Ukrainian university at Kamenets-Podolsky the chair of Jewish history and literature was founded. A Jewish representative was included in the Ukrainian Government—the Minister for Jewish Affairs—at whose side a "Jewish National Council" began functioning. A whole series of prominent Jewish political workers occupied various governmental posts, among them, for example, there was a member of the Supreme Court, Dr. Arnold Margolin, who later was a member of the Legation of the Ukrainian Republic in Paris; the Chief Comptroller, Mr. M. Rafes; Secretary of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in England, the well known Jewish historian and writer, Dr. M. L. Wishnitzer; Minister for Jewish Affairs during the period of Directorate, any many others.

Among the most important measures taken by the Ukrainian Government, we must mention the Law of National-Personal Autonomy which was unanimously adopted on January 9, 1918 (and announced in the

¹⁰⁾ "The Petlura Schwarzbard Affair." Elie Dobrowski (Michel), Nagenf-Champigny (Seine). 1927.

Official Journal of Laws, No. 283). This Law was received by Jews with great enthusiasm. The text of the Law is to be found in this collection.

"The Law which we have approved can be compared only with the acts of the Great French Revolution. At that time the rights of men were promulgated, today the rights of nations have been proclaimed",

announced M. Zilberfarb, the General Secretary for Jewish Affairs. The representative of the "Bund", M. Rafes, welcomed the Law in such words:

"This is an act of the greatest value, which is not to be found in any other country in Europe",

The leader of Jewish Zionists wrote:

"Our old dream comes true".

On the occasion of the promulgation of this law the Jewish political leaders sent telegrams of greeting to all centers: to Petrograd, to America, Austria (I. Tchernikover, *Ibid.*, p. 73).

What a great value the Ukrainian Government put upon the establishing of good relations with national minorities, particularly with the Jews, can be seen even from the fact that the Ukrainian directorate after launching the uprising against Hetman—long before its occupation of Kiev, that is, already on December 10, 1918 in Vynnytsia—restored the law of Jewish National-Personal Autonomy which had been adopted on January 9, 1918, and later had been annulled by Hetman, creating now the Department of Nationalities as an organ of the directorate (before the corresponding ministries could be restored). Solomon Gondelman, a representative to the Jewish National Council, was appointed Head of the Department.

Against this background the brutal attitude of Denikin's rule toward the Jewish population of the Ukraine in general, and its pogrom making in particular is conspicuously glaring.

A. Margolin in his above, mentioned work affirms that, wherever the Ukrainian directorate gained control, pogroms were stopped; and on the contrary, wherever Denikin's White Army came, pogroms and all kinds of beastly cruelties against both the Jewish and Ukrainian population assumed organized forms: pogroms were arranged by Denikin's Army Command itself.

The same affirmations are to be found in the works of many other Jewish investigators of pogroms of that time. Among them, the well-known Zionist and political worker, Temkin, states in his report on the anti-Jewish pogroms in the period of the Directorate and of Denikin's regime, made at the conference of Jewish organizations in Karlsbad, that:

"of all the pogroms which took place in the territory of the Ukraine the most horrible and cruel were those which were arranged

and carried out by the so-called Volunteer Army of Denikin. The Jewish masses were declared *beyond the pale*.

"The new regime", says Temkin justly, "brought along a quite definite official anti-Semitism... Anti-Semitic propaganda was conducted under the leadership of the High Command by the official army organ "Zorya" (Star). (See the excerpt from Ch. XXIII of the work by A. Margolin in this Collection).

In the preface to the "Eastern-Jewish Historical Archives" (Berlin, February, 1923) in the above mentioned work by I. Tcherikover we read:

"...and again the political scene changes suddenly: Denikin's army breaks into the Ukraine, coming actually with slogans for the restoration of the monarchy, shedding streams of Jewish blood almost throughout the whole area of the Ukraine, uprooting dozens of Jewish communities."¹¹⁾

"The roads over which the Denikin Volunteer Army marches are the roads made bloody by pogroms", writes another Jewish investigator, N. Shtif, in his work "Pogroms in the Ukraine",¹²⁾ and this without any difference whether we speak of its advance (June—October 1919), or of the panic-stricken flight during its retreat (December 1919—February 1920)... Wherever the feet of the Volunteer Army stepped down, the Jewish civilian population became the victim of untold violence, abuse, and bloody liquidation".

In another place N. Shtif says that at the start of the fighting on Dec. 7, 1918, an "Appeal to the Russian People by the Southern Army", signed by the "Southern Army", was issued, in which we read:

"...The Jews Bronstein (Trotsky), Nakhamkes (Steklov), Tzederbaum (Martov), Goldman (Horev), Kirbis (Kerensky), and Liberman (Tchernov) have no need of Russia and do not care for the welfare of the Russian people. They dream of ruining Russia, and of exhausting the Russian people in civil hostilities and acts of plunder..."

And farther down:

"The Southern Army appeals fervently to the Russian Orthodox people stop selling Russia to the Jews, throw off the yoke of the Jews!"

General Mamontov, one of Denikin's Army Commanders, who succeeded in advancing very deeply behind his enemy's front, wrote in his Appeal to the Peasants, in September 1919:

¹¹⁾ I. Tcherikover, *ibid.*, pp. 4—5.

¹²⁾ N. Shtif: "Pogroms in the Ukraine. The Period of the Volunteer Army." Berlin, 1922, pp. 8—11.

"Arm yourselves and arise against the common enemy of our Russian land, against Communist Jewish Bolsheviks... Destroy the force that lives in the hearts of the Jewish Communists!..."

In Denikin's newspaper "Osvah" No. 7, of October 19, 1919, we read:

"...a great anger prevails among the Christian population, which can be contained only with difficulty by our Government. Here we deal no more with a mere "Jewish skirmish", but with an actual Jewish military conspiracy against the Volunteer Army".

In describing the attitude of the Ukrainian population toward these pogroms, N. Shtif writes:¹⁹⁾

... In most cases the local Christian population sympathized actively with the Jews in their sorrow, hiding them, and defending them. For this purpose delegations were sent to higher authorities (from local governments and other organizations). They acted also individually, sometime with extreme self-sacrifice... There were such cases in Bila Tserkva, Horodyshche, Hostomel, Korsun, Tcherkassy, Vepryk (in Kiev province), Borozna, Konotop, Nizhyn, Novy Mhlyn (in Tchernykhiv province), Boryspol (in Poltava province), Dzhuryn, Kryve Ozero (in Podolia province), and in many other places.

Solomon Goldelman relates the pogroms by the Volunteer Army in the following way:

Surely, the news of the pogroms, carried out by Denikin, have come to you abroad. These *anti-Jewish pogroms, with such a large number of victims, have never been experienced before in the world, or in the Ukraine*" (emphasized by Goldelman).

"What a blow this is for Russophile-Jewish intellectuals as well as for the well-to-do Jewish population in the cities, who have been waiting for Denikin—for them the personification of a firm rule of order!

I have had an occasion to meet one of these highly intellectual individuals, a former university lecturer who served as a qualified specialist in one of the Ministerial Departments even during the tsarist regime, while at the same time never breaking his connections with Jews...

There are no more Russian intellectuals,—he said to me excitedly,—they perished in the dissolution of Russia. There are left only completely demoralized, rapacious, drunken, and wild bands with golden shoulder straps. There can be no more hope to defeat the Bolsheviks with the help of such elements, and to restore the former Russia. Alas! There are no others!

¹⁹⁾ N. Shtif, *ibid.*, pp. 24—25.

Such was the verdict of a Jewish intellectual, a member of the Russian Constitutional Democratic Party ("Kadets"), and a Russian patriot, after the pogroms perpetrated by Denikin's Volunteer Army in Kiev- Fastiv, and in dozens of other places.¹⁴⁾

The prosecution of the Jews was continued also during General Wrangel's regime. In his book, "The End of the Whites—from the Dnieper to the Bosphorus", Hryhory Rakovsky in analyzing the situation writes:¹⁵⁾

The servants of the Church of Bishop Venyamin's type, Black Hundred type journalists from the remains of the Russian press, chips of the former aristocracy that found their nest in Yalta, spiteful agrarians, bureaucrats longing for their old power—these were the people who occupied in the Crimea (with Wrangel) the places left by the Constitutional Democrats ("Kadets"), and by the members of the "Special Council", who fled abroad. In the first months of fighting by Wrangel, when every bit of opposition in his ranks was suppressed, when not only socialists, but very moderate and liberal political and social workers as well were driven underground, and when relations with the democratic West were not yet established,—at such a time only rabid reactionaries and restorationists felt themselves in Wrangel's camp masters of the situation.

Now, the same as in Denikin's time, an uninterrupted anti-Jewish pogrom-inciting propaganda was conducted. H. Rakovsky writes further:

"The notion of 'nationalism' in the Crimea was made identical with anti-Semitism, and found its expression in inciting to pogroms and Malakhov's lectures on 'Jewish-Masonic' intrigues" (p. 38).

Reactionary members of the Russian clergy were included by Wrangel and his supporters in their inhuman propaganda apparatus. H. Rakovsky writes:

Here is an example of this type of propaganda as is seen from a report by the Commander of the 3rd Rifle Regiment of the Drozd Division, to the Commander of that Division, Gen. Vitkovsky.

The Commander of the Rifle Regiment said in his report that two priests came to him, sent by Bishop Venyamin for the purpose of preaching propaganda sermons to all units of the army.

¹⁴⁾ S. Goldelman, *ibid.*, pp. 86—87.

¹⁵⁾ Hr. Rakovsky: "The End of the Whites. From the Dnieper to the Bosphorus. Degeneration, Agony, and Liquidation." Published by "Freedom of Russia". Prague 1921; p. 36.

After drawing a picture of the moral degeneration, one of the preachers, says the author of the report, made the conclusion that the Kingdom of the Antichrist, whose coming the Apostle Paul had foretold, has already arrived: this Kingdom can be destroyed with faith and devotion . . .

The other priest, a missionary from the Staropolsk Province by the name of Rudakov, said: 'The peasants in the ranks of the Red Army do not want to fight against us, and if it were not for the Jews who compel them with machine guns to advance, the war would have come to an end long ago, and we would have general peace . . . Socialism by itself is not very dangerous, if it were not headed by Jews' . . . (pp. 34—35).

With this we bring to an end our short examinations of the conditions which were the background of the tragic events. Before we let the documents speak—and these documents are the most objective witnesses—we wish to stress once more that due to its geographic position, its inheritance from tsarist reactionary policy, and also due to the concurrence of adverse circumstances, the Ukraine, on the whole, was merely the stage on which the tragedy of the Jewish people was performed.

F. Pigido

JEWS AND UKRAINIANS

*An Extract from "Letters of Jewish Social-Democrat",
by Salomon Goldelman.*

1921. "Vorwärts", Printing and Publishing, Vienna.
(Pages 8, 9 and 10).

THE FIRST LETTER

But truly it is not a question of portfolios. Especially we, the Jewish socialists whose task it is to pave the way for a gradual approach between the newly emerged Ukrainian nationalist intellectuals and the Jewish people, must be far removed from even the shadow of suspicion that we were striving to make profitable business and careers...

For us, the Jewish socialists in the Ukraine, there is only one real revolutionary and national need: the active support of the revolt of the Ukrainian peasants and workers. If this support is genuine, frank, and sure of its aims, then the first step on the way toward understanding between the Jewish and the Ukrainian peoples who have been predestined to live with each other, shall without doubt have been made.

If, however, that revolutionary act, which must finally break with the traditional Russian residues within the Jewish intellectuals, does not come about, and if the Jewish people do not deliver themselves from the psychological burden of Russian tradition and from the disastrous ill-breeding in language and culture of this country, then the Ukrainian democrats will also in the future gain an impression which has been already produced by the events in the first year of the revolution in the Ukraine to the effect that they can rely only on their own forces which are not too numerous, and that on the other hand, all other nationalities in the Ukraine maintain, if not hostile, then nevertheless at least indifferent attitudes toward the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people.

All objective moments require imperatively our unconditional and active participation in the Ukrainian revolution that is now in progress.

Apart from the great liberated force and elementary grandeur of the revolutionary movement itself, which introduces a new epoch in the history of the Ukrainian people, and of which I inform you in my other

exposition, Hetman's rule, against whom the uprising is fighting, is quite plainly a transition to tsarist-reactionary Russia, and therefore thoroughly hostile to Jews. Thus the fact must be explained that Hetman's rule by its destruction of our national acquisitions, by suppressing our autonomy and equality of rights of our language, and by the abolition of the Jewish ministry has mobilized against itself all national Jewish parties including even the Zionist bourgeoisie—a fact which has been clearly expressed during our National Conference both in discussion and in resolutions. Hetman's rule has also evoked an extremely hostile attitude among working classes, including the Jewish, by its political, social and national reaction.

For this reason an active support of the revolt on the part of Jews and their political parties will appear comprehensible, justified, and necessary.

However, not only these motives should help us decide upon our action in the nearest future.

He who looks closer at the uprising, he who sees the masses of peasants rushing each day from villages to cities in order to join the Republican army, he who has had an opportunity to observe how quietly, gravely, and with dignity they behave, and what an excellent order these armed men from the people keep well equipped and well supplied with provisions, so that one even does not hear the usual soldier's reviling to which we were accustomed during the war at our posts at the front, he who knows how perfectly loyal these peasant fighters are in their conduct with the population, including the Jew who formerly as a matter of routine was picked out as a scapegoat of all mobilizations, revolutions and counterrevolutions, must come to the conclusion that a radical change is taking place within the Ukrainian masses.

The peasants—that basic layer of the people who formerly had been dismembered by violence, and had to suffer under the heavy yoke of their tormentors, are transformed now into a nation beginning to know itself and to recognize that it represents something distinct, that as a new compact organism it must assert its right to human existence, and become equal to all other nations.

We are witnesses of a rare historical event: the working Ukrainian agrarian people who have become a class in the process of the Russian revolution, now, as the result of Hetman's rule of German oppression as well as of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, is developing into an independent nation that is itself deciding its fate.

For those who intend to occupy themselves with politics in the Ukraine I should add that from now on only that political action can count upon success, which moves along the line of interests of this nation, and that any other way must from the first be considered false.

I should ask myself as well as pose the same question to you: could we, the representatives of the Jewish people and their working classes, who aspire to a national and social rebirth and to our own national home in Palestine, should we remain cold and indifferent in view of the heroic struggle of the nation in whose closest neighborhood we live, whose fate we share, to whom we are tied by innumerable bonds?

Is it not our duty to consider the future of our people in this territory on the side of the Ukrainian people? We must not forget that the majority of the mass of our people can exist economically only in connection with the Ukrainian villages, namely as artisans, or agents in the exchange of goods between country and city.

I think it is the demand, which is not to be misunderstood, of the present historical moment, to manifest politically this internal and natural bond between Ukrainians and Jews. Now it is entirely up to us to break radically the wall of mistrust which has been erected between both peoples in the course of historical development, on the one side, by the economy of the Polish feudal lords and their Jewish abettors in the former Ukraine, and on the other side, in our times, by the stupid, Russophile Quixotic politics of those assimilated Jews who support the Russian Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries in the Ukrainian Central Council (that is, the Parliament) as well as of those poor nationalists who represent the "Bund" . . .

POGROMS IN THE UKRAINE DURING SOVIET RULE

An extract from the book "Anti-Semitism and pogroms in the Ukraine in the years 1917—1918," by I. Tchirikover. 1923; pp. 143—153

"...Hlukhiv, Novhorod-Siversky, Seredynna Buda, and their surroundings become the centers of unheard of bestialities—of the butchery of Jews. The horror before the threatening pogroms drives the Jewish population from one place to another, from villages to cities, always seeking safety. It was a new phenomenon in that period... Entirely new participants appear in these events, namely the demoralized Bolshevik troops. These events are not connected with the former high and low points of the pogrom movement in the Ukraine... They were brought on by a power that was foreign to the country. From the North, Red Guardsmen and Sailors came down... The demobilized soldiers displayed their strength in the fall of 1917 in orgies, pogroms, plundering and other excesses in the town of Volhynia and Podolia.

"...In that period the Bolsheviks themselves from their center propagated the 'self-activity of the masses'...; there was at that time no systematic fighting against the anti-Semitic temper that was quite strong among the ranks of the Bolshevik forces—as was done later; among the Soviet troops, which operated in the border zones of Polissya and Tchernyhiv Provinces, the anti-semitic feelings were very strong... The disorganized and fleeing groups of Red soldiers in the neighborhood of Homel spread rumors that 'the Jews shoot at the Red Army.' In the town of Mhlyn, in Tchernyhiv Province, the anti-Semitic feelings in some of the Bolshevik circles were so strong that a member of the local Soviet, a Jew, warned the Jewish population that it must 'vindicate itself from accusations of having counter-revolutionary inclinations,' because the question of pogroms had been put upon the agenda in the local Soviet. After some time, indeed, bloody events took place in Mhlyn: the chairman of the Soviet was murdered at the county conference of the representatives of the peasantry. A punitive expedition composed of Red Guards came from the Unetcha station. Red Guards arranged a pogrom under the pretext of punishing the guilty. Fifteen Jews were killed, many others were wounded and beaten up, and Jewish houses were destroyed. Before a house, where Jews and Russians were hidden, the Guards shouted: 'the Russians—

come out, the Jews remain!'. Seven Jews that remained there were butchered, among them a two-year-old girl. Pogrom excesses, although without human victims, took place also in the town of Surazh. A detachment of Red soldiers from the '1st Lenin Regiment' arrived 'to punish the counter-revolutionaries,' and laid waste the Jewish houses. The commander of a Red detachment, who arrived in order to stop the pogrom, declared publicly that 'Jews in other places greeted Germans with bread and salt' (i. e. with open arms).

"But much more serious events took place in Hlukhiv. From 5 p. m. on March 7 and during the next sixty hours, the city was in the hands of a rabid mob... Exclusively Jews were the sufferers... Many of them, still alive, had their hands cut off. Little children were murdered before the eyes of their mothers... Men were dragged out into streets, beaten with rifle butts, and stabbed or shot to death. All this was accompanied by drunken songs and obscene abuses. There is no need mentioning plunders... Blood flowed in streams. Entire families were shot, not sparing the children and older people. The pogrom spread also to the suburban village Esman.

"The Hlukhiv pogrom was the result of a bloody fight between the Ukrainian and Bolshevik troops. The Baturyn Regiment camped in Hlukhiv and declared itself a unit of the Ukrainian army. The Bolsheviks were driven out of the city by this regiment. Then the Roslavsky Partisan Detachment of Red Guards came from Kursk to help the Bolsheviks, and the city was retaken. The Bolshevik detachment (with Sailor Tsyhanko at its head) broke into the city, and as vengeance, resolved 'to butcher all the bourgeoisie and Jews'... Now the soldiers of the Baturyn Regiment joined them. They were saying that 'the Hlukhiv Jews had bribed them to fight against the Bolsheviks'. Only Jews were subjected to butchery. Among those killed only the Ukrainian Commissioner Drozd and the officers of the Ukrainian Regiment were not Jews. All together 100 Jews were murdered, among whom were workers and former soldiers. The pogrom was rich in scenes of extraordinary cruelty which until then had not been seen... A father, a mother and three daughters were killed in one house. The corpses were abused. In another house three sons were killed before the eyes of their mother. To the mother they said coolly: 'we have not touched you, because tomorrow we come to you for dinner.' And, indeed, they did come. The rabbi, a man 70 years old, was dragged to the square, shoved into line with the others and shot down. The synagogue was fired upon, and the scrolls of the Torah were torn to pieces. The stupefied and drunken soldiers shouted: 'We have been ordered to butcher all Jews!'. The pogrom stopped only the next day after the local Soviet had issued an appeal saying: 'Red Guards, there has been enough bloodshed!' The following is a characteristic detail:

a red flag was stuck on the grave of the partisans who had fallen in the encounter with the Ukrainians, and on the flag was an inscription: 'Long live the Internationale!'...

The leading bolshevik circles in Petrograd explained the events in Hlukhiv as an ordinary military episode. A telegram dated March 18, was published in *Pravda* which literally said: 'The famous Roslavsky Detachment occupied Hlukhiv against stubborn resistance. The Hlukhiv streets and the area above the railroad track are covered with corpses. A local Soviet has been organized in the city'.

"After Hlukhiv there followed murders of Jews in nearby places. On March 19 a detachment of Red Guards arranged pogroms in Seredynna Buda. Almost all the Jews fled in terror, nevertheless twenty persons were butchered just the same (a father, a mother, a son, and a daughter were murdered in one house). The pogrom terror seized the whole region of Hlukhiv. The Jews, hunted by Red soldiers, scattered in panic to the woods and steppes.

"The attacks of Red troops against Jews spread around the neighboring counties... The terrorized population of Akhramiyevytschi and Syadryno, 120 in number, left all their belongings behind and fled to Karkhivka under the protection of a German patrol... A pogrom took place in Novhorod-Siversky on April 6. It was arranged by the rear-guards of the Soviet army which was retreating from Sosnytsia toward Bryansk. Here also before this event took place, the Jewish population had been subjected to violence. Namely, when the local Soviet was being organized, Red soldiers and sailors searched Jews under the pretext of looking for weapons, but in fact they were seizing money. Now a new Bolshevik detachment (under the command of Sailor Bereti) came there at the end of March. All wealthy Jews were called together and a contribution of 750 000 rubles was demanded from them, to be paid by that evening. A body of troops that was detached from the main Bolshevik army tried to arrange a pogrom at the beginning of April, but it was repulsed by the organized city defense. Having received reinforcemens, the detachment again approached the city. The local Committee gives in its memorandum the following picture of the pogrom: 'A Jew came to Novhorod-Siversky on April 4 with the news that a large body of Bolsheviks was approaching, and they told the peasants that they were going to butcher all the Jews. Indeed, soon after came a Bolshevik reconnoitering patrol and addressed the militiamen with the following words: 'You dogs, throw away your weapons, kill the Jews' Then the patrolmen went through all the streets shouting 'kill the Jew!' Later the main body of the Bolshevik troop arrived! The pogrom and butchery started. 'Ruthlessness and cruelty of the bandits was horrible', says the memorandum, 'and it is not possible to find words in order to describe it adequately. Generally, children were murdered

before the eyes of their parents, and the fathers—before the eyes of wives and children... In cases where Russians and Jews were standing together in some places, Russians were commanded to step aside, and Jews were killed on the spot. There were cases when Jews were ordered to arrange themselves in files and to prepare themselves for death. Then, in turn, they were released, and again placed in rows. It was repeated several times in order to enjoy the abasement and pangs of fear of death of the condemned... There were also a few cases like the following: Having been deprived of all money, and after long weeping entreaties one person was released. The people were hiding in all possible places. Some of them jumped into the trenches behind the city, others looked for safety in the neighboring villages. But the peasants refused to accept them referring to the order by which it was forbidden under threat of punishment by death to give shelter to Jews. There were instances of murdered peasants, too...’ This butchery in Novhorod-Siversky lasted only four hours. Eighty eight Jews were killed, 11 severely wounded. A. J. Slutsky, a Jewish writer and Hebrew language specialist, was among the murdered.

“The rapid advance of the Germans stopped the pogroms. The Bolsheviks left the city, but next day they came back and drove out the Germans. When the latter were leaving, they were followed—as in times of the great Exodus from Egypt—by almost all the Jewish population of the city. On the morning of April 4 the Germans captured the city for good, and the Jews returned to their homes. But then the terror began in the villages. All Jews along the road of Bolshevik retreat toward Pohar suffered pogroms. The city of Hremyatch passed through an especially heavy pogrom: fifteen Jews were killed here, and all the others were robbed... In the county 24 Jews were murdered...”

“A noteworthy picture was to be seen at the capture of Hlukhiv and Novhorod-Siversky by the Bolsheviks: all the Jewish population had left both cities...”

“The pogroms by Red troops were generally chastized by the ruling Soviet authorities. But those Soviet authorities were interested in pogroms exclusively from the point of view of ‘counter-revolution’. After the above mentioned telegram about the ‘famous Roslavsky detachment’ that captured Hlukhiv, there was a note about the pogrom in Hlukhiv. The Moscow Commissars issued also an announcement about the pogrom and butchery in Hlukhiv. But in both cases no word was said about *who* perpetrated that pogrom and butchery. The Bolsheviks called a special meeting of protest against the ‘butchery of Jews in the Ukraine, and of Armenians in the Caucasus’: a special meeting of the Petrograd Soviet was called for the same purpose. But again, not one word was said here about the behavior of Red troops in Hlukhiv and other cities. You see, they were talking only about places which were occupied by

Ukrainians, Germans, and Rumanians... The events in Hlukhiv and in Novhorod-Siversky were never investigated by the Soviet government, and the guilty ones were not punished. Generally, there was no attention, paid to those 'episodes'.

"The south- eastern counties of Tchernyhiv Province were the main centers of organiizng serious pogroms by Red troops. But separate pogrom excesses against the Jews were undertaken also in other places. A horrible butchery of the local intellectuals and the bourgeoisie was committed by a detachment of Bolshevik sailors in Simferopol (Crimea) at the beginning of 1918. Mainly Jews suffered in this pogrom. The Simferopol Detachment went after that to Odessa, and joined the Soviet army of Colonel Muravyov. They tried to make a pogrom there too, and only an accident saved the city.

"A representative of the Jewish Community said at a meeting of the City Council in Krementchuk in April 1918: 'There is a new grave at the Krementchuk cemetery of 17 Jews who were brutally shot and mutilated by the Reds in Haleshtchyna for 'espionage' to the advantage of the Ukrainian-German army...' A detachment of 'anarchist-Maximalists' in Kterynoslv together with the Red guards at the end of March suddenly raided the lodgings of the Jewish armed units that protected the city against excesses, and disarmed them... The raiders shouted that 'the Jews are counter-revolutionaries and whiteguardsmen'... Some of the Jews were murdered...

"The War Commissariat received news from the acting instructor Khomin 'about the treacherous behavior of the Jewish self-defense units' in Kursk, which was shooting at the retreating Soviet soldiers. But the Kursk local Soviet as well as the Jewish Commission in Moscow refuted this news declaring that there was no Jewish special self-defense unit in Kursk...

"The anti-Semitism of the Bolshevik troops was manifested actuely at the border crossing points from Russia into the Ukraine. At those crossings particularly Jews were plundered by Soviet troops."

*Extracts from various chapters of the book by Arnold Margolin
"The Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente"
Publisher C. Efron. Berlin, 1921. From Chapter XXII. Pages 272—293.*

In the collection of documents on the situation of the Jews in the Ukraine which was prepared by the Ukrainian Embassy in Germany,¹⁾ one of the earliest documents issued by the Government referring to the pogroms carries the date of April 12, 1919. In its proclamation to the Ukrainian population the Premier, Mr. Martos, warns that "the government will exterminate the brigands and pogrom instigators by the severest measures. Above all, the government will not tolerate any pogroms against the Jewish population in the Ukraine, and will employ every available means for the purpose of combating these abject criminals, dangerous to the State, who are disgracing the Ukrainian nation in the eyes of all the civilized nations of the world." Farther down in the Proclamation the hope is expressed that the Ukrainian people who themselves have suffered national slavery, and who have granted national-personal autonomy to the Jews in the Ukraine, will support the government in eliminating these criminal pogrom-makers that belong to the scum of the population.

On May 27, 1919, under the signatures of Petlura, Makarenko, and Shvets, the Directorate approved a Law "concerning the establishment of an Extraordinary Commission for investigating anti-Jewish pogroms." According to the first and second paragraphs of that Law, the Investigating Commission possesses extensive powers, and is to hand over the persons guilty of participation in pogroms to a special Military Court. The task of the Commission is to investigate not only the pogroms that have taken place, but also the anti-Semitic agitation that is carried on in the territory of the Ukraine. The Chairman of the Commission is appointed by the Directorate upon the proposal of the Minister of Justice approved by the Cabinet of Ministers. The other five members of the

¹⁾ At the initiative of Mr. N. V. Porsh with the close collaboration of Dr. V. Levitsky and the political writer Waldman, the pamphlet "The Situation of the Jews in the Ukraine" (in German) has been published. From this publication I take this series of facts.

Commission are appointed, one from each, by the Minister of Justice, War, Labor, Interior Affairs, and Jewish Affairs. The initiative in calling the guilty to trial lies in the hands of the Minister of Justice in communication with the Minister for Jewish Affairs. But the same initiative as well as the right of searching a house, of confiscation, and of arrest is allowed also to each member of the Commission. The full text of the Law of May 27, 1919 has been published in the above mentioned pamphlet, issued by the Ukrainian Embassy in Berlin, and also in the "Journal of State Laws" (July 17, 1919). In early July Petlura sent a circular telegram to the Premier, to the Commander of the Army, to the Minister of War, and to the Minister for Jewish Affairs on the question of a more vigorous fight against pogroms and all other anti-Jewish excesses. In that telegram, published in the official "Journal of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic", July 9, 1919, Petlura points out the sacrifices made by the Jews in the struggle for establishing the Ukrainian Republic. He refers to the facts, personally known to him, of Jews helping the Ukrainian Army, who were shot by Bolsheviks for it. He also cites the facts of the Jews bringing help to the sick and wounded Ukrainian soldiers, and the facts of the establishment of field hospitals close to the battlefield. In those hospitals the Jewish children washed away the blood from the wounds of the soldiers—an act which was related to him by the wounded themselves, with a feeling of thankfulness to the Jews. Mr. Petlura states with satisfaction that among the Ukrainian soldiers there have already been formed special detachments for the purpose of protecting Jewish shops and houses against destruction, and expresses his hope that such facts will increase and will grow into a habit. The telegram is concluded with the statement that in the Ukrainian Republic all nationalities should find a free and peaceful life.

On August 15, 1919 a government ordinance was issued, under the signature of Premier Martos, concerning the assignment of 11 460 000 hryvnas (about six million rubles) and placing them at the disposal of the Minister for Jewish Affairs for the purpose of assisting the Jewish population in the cities and towns, affected by the pogroms. On August 18, 1919 the Council of Ministers, after hearing the report by the Minister for Jewish Affairs on the pogroms, accepted a decision on a whole series of measures for combating the pogroms and pogrom bands. In that decision the Council of Ministers advises the Army Commander-in-Chief, Otaman Petlura, to deliver to Court-Martial all commandants of the separate groups of the army, who are guilty of tolerating pogroms, as traitors to the country, to whom the severest punishment should be given, including the death sentence. Finally, it is proposed to issue an appeal to the partisan detachments behind enemy lines that they should vigorously fight against pogrom instigators, various pogrom bands, and traitorous deserters of the army.

A short time before this decision of the Cabinet Council was made there was issued a Proclamation to the Jewish citizens and workers under the signature of Mr. Martos and Mr. Krasny. It is announced in that Proclamation that a governmental commission of special inspectors for combating the pogrom bands had been created in the army. Then there is mentioned a series of death sentences passed by the special military courts, and of the shooting of many pogrom instigators. It is to be regretted that no dates of sentences, and no names of those who were shot have been given. Farther down, the information is given about the formation of the "All-Ukrainian Central Relief Committee for the Victims of Pogroms" under the jurisdiction of the Minister for Jewish Affairs, and about the assignment of over 20 million hryvnas from the State Treasury for that cause. Among the other factual data mentioned in the Proclamation by Martos and Krasny, of a special interest is the mentioning of the fact that a considerable number of Jewish soldiers and officers has appeared in the ranks of the United Central (i. e. Dnipro region) and Galician Ukrainian army. The Proclamatio is concluded with an appeal for brotherly companionship of the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples.

On August 26, 1919 an Army Order No. 131 was issued, signed by Petlura, and by his Chief of Staff, General Yunakiv. First of all, it was stated in that Order that the Jews, as the whole population in the Ukraine, suffer in equal measure under the oppressive results of the Bolshevik regime. Addressing all devisions, brigades, regiments, garrisons, and squadrons of the army, the authors of the Order point to the extreme disgrace of pogroms which not only constitute a capital crime, but are the highest treason to the State. Furthmore, it is stated there that there can be no place in human society for pogrom makers, and that the pogroms bring burning shame upon the Ukrainian government in the face of the whole world. "Our clean cause demands a clean hand!", exclaim Petlura and Yunakiv, and order handing over of all pogrom instigators as State traitors to courts. In his Proclamation to the Army issued on August 27, 1919, Petlura declares that the basis for the State structure of the Ukraine should be the cooperation of democratic forces of all nationalities in the Ukraine. He again reminds the soldiers that the pogrom instigators and provocateurs will meet with death sentences. On September 3, 1919, at the meeting of the "Bund" and of the Union of Jewish Socialists, the Minister of Labor, Mr. Bez-palko, the well known Galician statesman, made a declaration in the name of the government saying that the anti-Jewish pogroms are a disgrace to the Ukrainian people, and a hindrance on the road to their national rebirth.

The most characteristic of all documents of that period, which are at my disposal, is the telegram sent by Vasylko on August 1, 1919 to

the Ukrainian delegation in Paris. At the instruction of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Temnytsky, Mr. Vasylko shows clearly that the pogroms always stopped in the territory where the government was able to restore and maintain order. He also offers an objective close scrutiny of the causes of pogroms, which I shall almost fully quote. "Unfortunately", writes Vasylko, "the revolutionary army which at the beginning consisted of the representatives of intellectuals and sound peasant element was later supplemented with various criminal "Black-Hundred" elements that were attracted by the successes of the revolution, and joined the army for the criminal purpose of spreading anarchy."

Vasylko is right in pointing out that partial influx into the army of such ruinous and criminal elements was peculiar and inevitable in all revolutionary and voluntary armies. "On the other hand", continues Vasylko, "one must take into consideration that the tsarist regime had been for centuries preparing the ground for anti-Semitic excesses by poisoning the minds of all nations of the former Russian empire with the venom of anti-Semitism. These nations were taught to put the blame upon the Jews for all the misfortunes and mistakes of the government, which fell heavily upon their heads. Suffice it to recall that the pogroms of the year 1881 were explained by tales about the exploitation of peasants by the Jewish population. By such fiction it was possible to ward off the anger of the peasants and workers from the Russian bureaucrats and the big landowners. In the year 1905 pogroms were arranged by the "Black-Hundred" who spread the news that the revolution was the action of the Jewish Cadets (that is, Constitutional Democrats), and, to be sure, all Cadets were declared by the Black-Hundred to be Jews. Now, the fact that some Jews are participating in the Bolshevik movement is exploited as an excuse for instigation to pogroms, this fact being exaggerated by stating that allegedly all Bolsheviks are almost exclusively Jews. These slanderers conceal the fact that in Bolshevik ranks Russians are represented and all other nationalities and faiths. This agitation is the cause and explanation of the recent pogroms in the Ukraine, by which the Jewish Bolsheviks have suffered far less than the Jews who are hostile to Bolshevism—workers and merchants. At any event, the name and the principles of Petlura and of all other members of the Ukrainian government are the best guarantee that the war against the pogroms will be waged by all means which are at the disposal of the government. These means will be applied with the utmost severity in order to cure the Ukrainian people of ignominious anti-Semitism—this disgraceful heritage of the old Russian regime that impeded the historical growth and development of our nation, when compared with other civilized nations."

A similar interpretation was later often advanced by Prof. Smal-Stotsky, the head of the Ukrainian legation in Berlin. Mr. Smal-Stotsky, aware of the immense significance of that question, and of the damage caused by the pogroms to the restoration of the Ukrainian State, as far as the opinion of the civilized nations is concerned, has been devoting very much time during his stay abroad to the elucidation of the causes of the pogroms. It is stressed in one of the publications issued under his editorship that the Ukraine during the last three years has been passing through a state of incessant civil war and chaos. As a result of this there has come "the destruction of the rest of the governmental mechanism, and of the moral authority of law, freedom, and of justice. The danger of pogroms grows in such an atmosphere of a loosened sense of law abiding, of universal enmity and despair." Then, the thought is developed that, if even in much more civilized centers such as Vienna and Berlin the revolution has evoked a strengthening of anti-Semitism, the growth of anti-Semitism in a country in which anti-Jewish propaganda has always been a favorite means in the hands of the government seems to be quite natural. Referring to the pogroms committed by the Denikin army, and to the recent pogroms perpetrated by the Red army, the author of the document proves that the causes of the pogroms have nothing in common with the Ukrainian National Movement, and that the arbitrary actions of the separate army detachments and bands find themselves in direct contradiction to the principles of that movement and to the principles of its leaders. Likewise the fact of the complete absence of anti-Semitism in the programs of all the Ukrainian political parties is brought forward, both of the Central Ukrainian (i. e. Dnipro region) and of the Galician parties without any exception, and also the fact of the efforts being exerted on the part of the Ukrainian government for the purpose of drawing the Jewish population "into active cooperation in the building of the Ukrainian State." Among a series of laws and measures accepted for the purpose of introducing political and national equality of Jews under the law, also the fact, thus far little known, is cited that special chairs of Jewish history and literature have been established at the Kamnets-Podolsky University during the stay of the Ukrainian government in that city.

No doubt, I have only a part of the documents concerning measures taken by the Ukrainian government against pogroms during 1919. Living abroad I have had no possibility to collect more material relating to that year. To my appeals to the government and to Krasny, and to my requests for sending me more detailed facts, I have received the answer that very many published documents, orders, circulars etc. have been lost during hasty withdrawals of the army.

However, in the proclamations, declarations, and orders issued by the Ukrainian government, which I have brought forward here, we

find also facts on the basis of which we can arrive at a judgement as to the spirit and general direction of the Ukrainian policy on the Jewish question.²⁾

* * *

Before I begin to analyze the material relating to the later period, I shall take the liberty of discussing some of the declarations made by the Jewish parties and groups in connection with the events of 1919.

On July 8, 1919 a working group of the Jewish Community Council at Kamenets-Podolsk made a declaration at the general meeting of Jewish workers to the effect that it was ready to fight together with the Ukrainian working masses for the free and independent Ukrainian Republic. The meeting expressed its confidence in the government, and its readiness to support it, likewise requesting to government to continue its resolute and vigorous struggle against the dark provocateur elements participating directly or indirectly in the anti-Jewish pogroms. On July 17, 1919 Petlura was visited at Kamenets-Podolsky by the Jewish delegation composed of: Dr. Kleiderman (from the Jewish Community, Gutman (from the rabbis), Altman (from the Zionists), Kreis (from artisans), Bohrad (from United Socialist Parties), and Drachler (from Poaley-Zion). The delegation declared before Petlura that all circles of the Jewish population were willing to defend, together with the Ukrainian people, the independent Ukrainian State, strongly believing that only the Democratic Ukrainian Government can assure equality under law to the Jewish people. The delegation asked for protection of the Jews against the pogroms which were taking place "as the result of the provocations of various Russian reactionaries and Polish imperialists who intended in this way to discredit the entire Ukrainian movement in the eyes of Europe."

²⁾ At the moment when this book had been already written, a copy of the report by Otaman Tutunyk sent to Chief Otaman Petlura came into my hands. In this report Tutunyk states that upon his order in agreement with the verdicts of the special military courts there were shot in the fall of 1919 for committing anti-Jewish pogroms as follows: in the town of Vakhnivka (Lypovetsky county)—four plunderers at the railroad station Khrystynivka—83 pogrom makers. Besides, within the same period in the town of Talne at the place of the perpetrated pogrom, five pogrom makers were shot by his order, and the names of the executed were announced publicly in a special published order.

By the way, it is necessary to keep in mind that in this case the commander of the Kiev Division, Maxim Tutunyk is in question. In the Ukrainian army as well as among the irregular bands there were several otamans (i. e. leaders) by the name Tutunyk, and one of them (George or Yuriy) acquired an infamy as a pogrom maker.

On August 23, 1919 a Jewish Community meeting took place in Proskuriv. It was decided unanimously to give support to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs in its work for the welfare of the Jewish laboring masses.

On August 26, 1919 the Podolian Province and City Committees of the "Poaley-Zion" at the meeting at Kamenets-Podolsky adopted the resolution on the advisability for the Jews to take part as members in the Ukrainian government. It is pointed out in that resolution that "now the negative moments in the situation, which were brought up in April by Goldelman and Revutsky, have been completely removed." Evidently, it concerns (in reference to "negative points") the "turning to the right" in the composition of the Ukrainian government, which had taken place at the insistence of the Frenchmen in Odessa, and which later was liquidated with the resignation of Mr. Matsievych and of other Social-Federalists who were replaced by social-democrats with Mr. Martos at the head; it refers also to the inadequate measures which had been taken by the Ukrainian government during March and April of 1919. At any rate, the "Poaley-Zion" Party confirms in the above mentioned August resolution that "the Government and the Supreme Command are *vigorously fighting against pogroms.*"

Somewhat earlier, namely on July 27, 1919, a joint conference of the Committee of the "Bund", United Socialists, "Poaley-Zion", Teachers' Democratic Union, and many other Jewish trade organizations took place in Mohyliv-Podolsky. The conference expressed its confidence in the Ministry for Jewish Affairs, and acknowledged the advisability of its further cooperation with the Ukrainian government. A similar resolution was approved at the conference of the Jewish People's Party and of representatives of Jewish artisans on September 15, 1919 in Berdytchev.

We hope that it will be possible to collect more inclusive material concerning such declarations of the Jewish communities and parties. There will also come the time for a more concise estimate of the motives of such manifestations. However, at this moment there are, to be sure, quite a few sceptics who say that such declarations might have been made from fear and for the purpose of gaining the good will of the government as well as its protection against pogroms.

But, to conclude, here is the voice of the well-known Jewish statesman and famous writer—Izrael Zangwill. In his letter of October 20, 1919 to the Ukrainian Government³⁾ he expresses his conviction that

³⁾ I shall come back once more to Zangwill's letter in connection with the proposed All-Round Inquiry Comssion of the Jewish social and political workers.

it i. e. the Ukrainian government, "has taken measures—although, perhaps, not all possible measures—for the suppression of crimes for which the uncertain conditions in Russia are mostly to blame." Zangwill considers it real statesmanship that the Jews have been granted national rights. In his opinion "it appears as a sharp contrast to Poland and its attitude toward the Jews." In concluding, Zangwill is sorry for the unfortunate victim of the pogroms as well as on account of the danger to the very existence of the Ukrainian State with whose ideals he, Zangwill, sympathizes being an adherent of the self-determination of nations.

Somewhat later, on March 8, 1919, Zangwill again touched upon the question of anti-Jewish pogroms in his letter to the Federation of Ukrainian Jews in England on the occasion of a meeting called to honor the memory of the victims of the pogroms in the Ukraine. Zangwill sorrowfully reflects on the fact that many centuries have passed since anti-Jewish pogroms were of such immense proportions, and the Jews were cast into the abyss of such dreadful misery.

"I, however, am not fully convinced," writes Zangwill further, "that any accusations can be brought against the present Ukrainian government, since it controlled approximately only one sixth of the whole territory of the Ukraine at a time when the entire country was being ruined by bands of brigands under the guidance of anti-Semitic leaders. The general anarchy in Europe is rather to be blamed as well as the complete helplessness of our people who have not organized their strength in any part of the world."

In the question of documents referring to the anti-pogrom actions of the Ukrainian government in 1920 and at the beginning of 1921, I must again limit myself to the very meagre data which have been recently sent abroad upon the request of the Ukrainian embassy in Berlin. Among these data there is a series of officially attested orders, ordinances and declarations of the Supreme Army Command and of the government. All these documents will be published in full in due time, while in this book I shall limit myself to the most essential extracts from them.

In their Orders of February 28, and of March 12, 1920 to the Volhynia Army Group, the Army Commander Omelanovytch-Pavlenko and the Group Commander Otaman Nikonov brand the criminals who disgrace the Army by their arbitrary searches, by their unlawful requisitions of cattle from peasants, and of property from the peaceful population. These Orders carry the threat of the death sentence for robbery.

On April 29 of that year Otaman Nikonov calls a session of a special military court to try the case of the plundering of Sheifel's drugstore in the town of Yassy (Kherson region).

On July 23, 1920 Omelanovytch-Pavlenko, Chief of Staff Lypko, and Colonel Tkatchuk issue an Order about the appointment of special commanders who would be responsible for preventing any plunders and pogroms. It is proposed in that Order to stop immediately all excesses by shooting the plunderers at the place of their crime.

We find the same command to shoot the plunderers in the Order of October 2, 1920, to the Second Volhynia Rifle Division, under the signature of the Division Commander Zahrodsky.

By an Order on July 20, 1920, signed by Colonel Dubovy, the Haysyn-Bratslav battalion of the 2-nd Infantry Brigade was dissolved for committing plunder and violence.

By an Order on August 27, 1920, signed by Omelanovytch-Pavlenko, Lypko, Col. Huly and Maj. Savtchenko, all soldiers were commanded to treat politely and tactfully all the population without distinction of faith and nationality.

There are also many Orders depriving persons of various army ranks of the right to promotion, removing from posts, or inflicting corporal punishment by means of cleaning rods—all this in cases where there was toleration of plundering of the Jewish population, or of extorting money under various kinds of threats.

It is announced in the Order on November 6, 1920, signed by the commander of the 4-th Kiev Cavalry Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Sydoriansky, that Private Novkhatsky was shot by the commander of a company, Deshtchenko, at the place the crime was committed (in the town of Husiatyn). It was ordered to strike Novkhatsky's name from the roll of the regiment. A similar case of a shooting of pogrom makers at the place of a crime in the town of Tchernovo is announced in the Order to the 4th Kiev Rifle Division (the date is illegible).

Finally, there is in my hands an officially attested copy of the sentence passed by a special military court on August 22, 1920 in the case of Varyvan Vynnyk who was accused of inflicting wounds upon Yossel Aster in the village of Zalukivtsi (near Stanislau, Galicia), which endangered his life. The case was tried behind closed doors. The court condemned Vynnyk's action as "inhuman" and sentenced him to death by shooting. The same day the sentence was approved by Colonel Buly, bestowing the duty of execution upon the Mountain Cavalry Division, and commanding the reading of the Order to all companies, batteries and other army groups. In the evening of the same day the sentence was executed.

According to the statements of General Omelanovytch-Pavlenko, P. A. Krasny, and many other persons deserving full confidence, there

were many cases of execution at the places pogroms and murders were committed. There were also many identical sentences of shooting plunderers and pogrom makers, passed by special military courts.

The Commander of the Army, Gen. Omelanovytch-Pavlenko, with representatives of his staff paid a visit to the Minister for Jewish Affairs on May 30, 1920. They together worked out a plan for the most radical methods of fighting against any possibility of new excesses. The Army Commander informed the Minister for Jewish Affairs about all the measures which he had taken against perpetration of plunders and pogroms. According to his assurance, all guilty of such crimes were immediately handed over to a special military court and shot.

A very important role in the fight against anti-Semitism was played by the institution of government inspectors in the army, whose establishment was mentioned above. The Ministry for Jewish Affairs cites the actions of those government inspectors with the feeling of distinct appreciation. Especially great energy and devotion was being manifested all the time by Mr. V. I. Kedrovsky who was later appointed an envoy to Estonia.

On July 18, 1920, an Order by a special Cavalry Division was issued, which was at that time in the territory of Galicia. In that Order we find a detailed explanation of the impression that is made by the pogroms on the civilized nations. Calling the army groups to keep order, the authors of the document advise the soldiers to treat with the same tactfulness all nationalities, including the Jews, and point to the co-operation on the part of all Galician Jews in building the Ukrainian state. The same Order charges the commanders of various army groups with the responsibility for avoiding disorders among the soldiers who are under their command, and gives instructions as to the formation of special reliable patrols for vigilance over the troops.

By an Order of the same Division, on July, 1920, Private Savychenko is handed over to a military court accused of the rape of Sara M. It is interesting to note that in the same Order there are instructions for setting up a guard for the protection of the court.

The Order of September 1, 1920 by Gen. Omelanovytch-Pavlenko to a special Cavalry Division establishes *personal responsibility* of the commanders for any further plundering by the soldiers who are under their command.

Cases of arbitrary plunders and violence by the so-called Dnipro-region cossacks are cited in many Orders. Manifest seizure of cattle and grain from peasants is commonplace, in spite of threats of shooting by the commanders of the army and of army groups.

One of the Orders to the 6th Rifle Division, the one of September 6, 1920, cites a case of stopping plundering and raping of Jewish women

and girls thanks to the intervention of Non-Commissioned Officer Holovtchuk and Private Hrabar, who happened to arrive just in time. Using their arms they put the plunderers to flight, while succeeding in chaining two Don Cossacks.

The Commander of the Division, Col. Bezrutchko, expressed his thanks to Holovtchuk and Hrabar for doing their duty, and ordered to announce their deed before groups, companies and commands of the Division as an example to be followed by others.

On September 15, 1920, the Chief of the Inspectors' Department of the Reserve Army Staff issued an Order to shoot without trial those guilty of marauding and plundering at the place of committing the crime (Point No. 3 of the said Order).

By the Orders of Tutunyk and of the Chief of Staff, General Vovk, of August 23, and of December 8, 1920, shooting without trial at the place a crime was committed is commanded in reference to the "rascals" who are guilty of plundering the peaceful. Corporal punishment up to 125 strokes with a whip is ordered for tolerating pogroms, and for failure to report such actions. The same Otaman Tutunyk, in his report on June 4, 1920 to the Minister for Jewish Affairs, notifies the Minister of shooting by his orders of a cossack who inflicted a wound on a Jewish child in the town of Tchereno.

On September 20, 1920, Petlura issued an Army Order calling again for preservation of order and abstaining from plunder and violence.

On October 5, 1920, Gen. Omelanovytch-Pavlenko commands again that pogrom makers and plunderers be shot at the place of their crime.

On October 11, 1920, Petlura issued an Army Order commanding the immediate handing over of all plunderers to a special military court. Public prosecutors at higher military courts are advised to supervise the strict execution of this order. The commanders of troops, who are guilty of concealing any crimes, are also to be delivered to a court.

Among the documents of the year 1921, we find in full a proclamation by Petlura to the population of the Ukraine, and to the partisans. I quote here that proclamation in full:

To you, unflinching warriours who are exerting their strongest efforts for protection of our Home against the enemy, to you who have covered yourselves with world-wide fame defending your fatherland, to you, my dear brothers, I speak these words.

Our hangmen, the Bolsheviks, are spreading news that the revolutionaries are exterminating the Jewish population. I, the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army, do not believe it, the more so since I know the Ukrainian people who being themselves oppressed by the

pirate conquerors, can not oppress any other nation that likewise suffers under Bolshevik rule.

Look around you, look closely and you will see that not only the peasants but the artisans and merchants as well, with a word—all honest people living in the Ukraine are groaning under the Bolshevik yoke. The Communists want to drive all those who earn their living by the honest work of their hands or brains, like cattle, to one common stall—to a commune.

The Jewish population—small shopkeepers, craftsmen, and workers, who earn their daily bread by their labor, have also been wronged and bereaved by the Bolshevik regime. Goods from shops of shopkeepers, instruments and work-benches from artisans are being seized for the commune. Is it not ruin for the Jewish population? Can the Jewish population that is dying of hunger be satisfied with the Bolsheviks? The Jewish population, the same as you, is waiting impatiently for the liberation from the Communist pirates.

If you find Jews among the Communists, remember that they are for their people the same sort of treacherous Cains that have forsaken the faith and laws of their forefathers as those traitors of ours who joined the Communists; and it would be unjust to put the blame for the Jewish traitors upon the whole Jewish nation the same as it is impossible to blame the entire Ukrainian nation for our own traitors. I know that the entire honest Jewish population has disowned and branded them as traitors.

I am sure that you understand it quite well, and that it is not you who exterminate the Jewish population; the Jews are being exterminated by the Communists themselves, and by the bandits whom the commune spawned on our land.

In their fight against our nation the Bolsheviks do not loathe lies or bribery. Using gold which they have robbed from other people, they have sent their representatives to all countries, established there newspapers in all languages, in which they brand our sacred cause—the liberation movement of our nation—as the work of bandits and pogrom makers, shouting on each page of those newspapers about anti-Jewish pogroms, which, they say, are being organized by the Ukrainian revolutionaries.

Workers and farmers in some other countries, who have never seen the Bolsheviks face to face, consider them to be friends of the people, believe in their defamation of the Ukrainian Revolutionaries, and have taken an attitude of suspicion toward our liberation movement.

But the cordial welcome with which the Jewish population met our army last year on its return to the mother-country, the tears with which the Jewish population escorted our retreating army, the terror which seized the Jews at the invasion of the Bolsheviks, and those tens

of thousands of Jews who followed our army escaping before the Bolsheviks, and who are now here with us sharing our fortune, dreaming our dream—all this has convinced the world that the Bolsheviks are bandits, not we.

It is with a heavy heart that I hear those slanders against you, peasants, my brothers, and if you find among yourselves a black sheep that stains all of you with its disgraceful actions, throw it out of your ranks immediately!

As the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army, I command you to punish mercilessly the Bolshevik-Communists and other bandits perpetrating anti-Jewish pogroms and annihilating the population, to undertake as one man the defense of the suffering population, and to dispose of the bandits immediately through military courts.

"I will soon return with the army and with the government to the Ukraine, and those who injured our cause joining the rebels for the sake of plunder and pogroms will be severely punished by martial law as traitors to our people and supporters of the enemy.

Petlura

EXTRACTS

*from the book by Arnold Margolin
"The Ukraine and the policy of the Entente"
(Memorandum by a Jew and a citizen).
Publisher C. Efron. Berlin, 1921. Chapter XXIII. Pages 302—309.*

Mr. Temkin, the well known Zionist and social worker, has stated in his report on the situation of the Jews in the period of the Directorate, and of Denikin's Movement, delivered in Karlsbad at the conference of Jewish organizations, that the most terrible and the most cruel pogroms which had taken place in the Ukraine were those perpetrated by the Denikin Volunteer Army. The Jewish people were at that time outlawed. Tempin notes quite right that "the new rule brought about a very definite official anti-Semitism; it annulled the civil and national equality brought about by the (Ukrainian) Revolution, and removed Jewish officers and soldiers from all the fronts in spite of their most faithful fulfilment of their military duties."

Further, Tempzin quotes a series of Orders issued by chiefs of staffs, by city commanders and other government agencies about such removal of Jews from the army, decrees about the dismissal of Jewish workers from district and city institutions, about prohibition of defending the interests of the Jews in newspapers; he cites also the facts of the removal from offices of all those who *dared to express their disapproval and protest against the Jewish pogroms*. Restriction of the right to high school and college studies for Jews by quota has been restored.

When a Jewish delegation appealed to Denikin in Odessa with a request to issue a declaration about equality of citizenship rights for Jews, he refused to do that. "He supported the efforts of pogrom makers, and therefore he is responsible before history, to the same extent as the pogrom makers themselves, for Jewish bloodshed"—such is the judgement passed on Denikin by Temkin...

Quite a valuable item in Temkin's report is his proving of the existence of a special press in Denikin's army, in which all former Russian Black-Hundred writers indirectly participated. A. Savenko was put at the head of "Osvah" in Kiev...

The anti-Semitic campaign was carried on by the official military organ "Zarya" under the leadership of higher commanders.

But the most shocking impression is made by the facts, cited in Temkin's report, of the direct participation of Denkin's officers in

plunders and extortions. One of the group commanders declares openly that "we have come here not struggle against Bolsheviks, but to wage war against the Jews". Among soldiers a particular cruelty is shown by the Chechentsi.

According to Temkin's testimony, the pogrom in Fastiv surpasses everything that has happened in our time which is so rich in pogroms.

I will not repeat here all those horrors of which Temkin reports in his description of the Fastiv pogrom, nor do I intend to proceed by the way of parallels and comparisons of the Fastiv bestalities, committed by Denikin's Army, with the horrors of Proskuriv and Balta ...

The center of gravity lies not in the number of victims, or in the extent of cruelty. Something else is of importance: *who perpetrated pogroms* and what were the *motives* and *inducements* of the leaders. And I borrow from Temkin's report only the statement that all valuable things, pianos, furs, silver, and precious stones were seized in Fastiv by the officers and their mistresses accompanying them ... One of the officers removed a ring from the finger of Potievsky—an inhabitant of Fastiv.

All pogrom cruelties in Kiev were committed under the direction of Denikin's officers. The newspapers "Osvah", "Kievlyanin", and "Vetchnia Ohni" fabricate various accusations against the Jews, and exult over the pogroms ... In Podolia Province to which Denikin's army withdraws, all the methods of examination and tortures of the Middle Ages are renewed: Jews are burned alive in petroleum and oil. Temkin names the colonels who were directing these pogroms.

Copies of the original documents have been added to Temkin's report, which testify to the direct guilt of many officers of higher rank in Denikin's army in inciting against the Jews and perpetrating pogroms.

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The system of provocations and Jesuit inquisitorial methods, which extend through all the contents of those documents, is particularly shocking. It was never before possible even to imagine what low and bestial instincts were hidden in that environment which was the stronghold and support of tsarist absolutism. A highly refined, abnormal, and sadistic cruelty is manifested by some of these heirs of the old regime, who together with their mistresses are getting intoxicated with torturing the Jews—and this with impunity. I will cite some of the most characteristic excerpts from a series of Temkin's documents.

The Commander of the Bilhorod Regiment reports on January 17, 1920, from his post in Tikhoretsko to the Commandant of the Military District in Novorossiysk, that among the reinforcements that have been

recently sent to him there are many Jewish soldiers who point out to the other soldiers "the harmfulness of the anti-Jewish and anti-foreign pogroms of the army." The Commandant finds in it "signs of Bolshevik propaganda", adding that upon his orders ten of those Jews have been already tried by Court-Martial and shot. At the end he requests that his regiment be exempt in the future from accepting reinforcements composed of Jewish elements.

The Commander of the Odessa District Army handed on December 20, 1920, to non-commissioned officer Simon Galstein a certificate in which it was stated that on account of his Jewish parentage he had been completely removed from the mobilization list of officers. "According to the orders of the Commander of the military forces of South Russia, the said Galstein will be again mobilized as a private soldier."

The chief physician of the 2-nd Military Hospital in Tahanrih sends a secret circular to his subordinate physicians with the recommendation that they should not accept any Jewish soldiers and officers to hospitals under the pretext that there was *lack of room*. The chief physician gives as a reason for his order the fact that the high military command has already called his attention to the inadvisability of inundating hospitals with Jews in view of their harmful influence upon soldiers and officers.

The commander of the military post in Sinelnikovo received by telegram an order signed by May-Mayevsky that the latter should be notified by telegram of the number of Jews killed in trains passing a certain railroad station each day. He demanded the severest prohibition of any demonstrations by Jews because of those murders.

The same May-Mayevsky, on the advice of a higher commander, sends a telegram, diabolical in its intentions, to Kremenchuk, Poltava, and other cities with the order "to stop the advance of their (Denikin's) troops, and to arrange things always in such a way, that the (Ukrainian) troops of Hryhoryev, and of Petlura, or of the Reds should be first to arrive in the cities having a large Jewish population."

The Circular Order of December 22, 1920, issued by Kalashnikov, the Chief of the Propaganda Detachment in the Don Army Region, among other things demands removal of all Jews from the posts which they occupy "as the people who avoid military service and interfere with the liberation of Russia from foreign yoke."

The Commissioner of the Kavterynoslav Third Division Police Force reports on August 12, 1920, to the Katerynoslav District Governor "that the Jews raise alarms at night in some streets only for the purpose of simulating an attack upon them by the Cossacks, but in fact wishing thus by their shouting to give a signal to the Reds whose positions are near the city; the alarm should signify also that Denikin's Volunteer Army

is already demoralized and gives itself up to plunder. This is being done to encourage the Reds and to facilitate their advance." Furthermore, the Commissioner reports that he already has taken measures for the purpose of stopping those Jewish alarms, and that he has sent information about some Jews suspected of being Bolsheviks to a court-martial, and the guilty have been already arrested.

It is worth noting how in the above report the "suspected" in one line are considered "guilty" in the next line.

General Korvin-Krukovsky reports in his Army Order of October 25, 1919, that during the withdrawal of his troops from Katerynoslav they were shot at from the windows of Jewish houses, and that many soldiers and even officers were found to have been killed by those shots. "The houses from which the shots had fallen were marked down." The General commands a vigorous shelling of those houses during the next occupation of Katerynoslav, and to subject all males living in those quarters to the severest punishment. Besides, he promises his "brave soldiers" that "they will be given the right to search during three days in all Jewish quarters for the criminals who had been shooting at my soldiers and officers."

And next you wil have a example of justice, viz. a verdict given by a Court-Martial in Voronyevo on October 22, 1919.

The chairman — Captain Konovalov, the members of the Court—three officers. In the dock—Sura Weisman accused of having lured a soldier of Konovalov's troops to her room where she murdered him with a kitchen knife. After wiping off the traces of blood with her shirt, she carried the dead body out to the street with the help of unknown persons, where it was found in the morning of October 8. Because of the withdrawal of the troops, to which the murdered man belonged, from the city at daybreak, the corpse was not identified.

In view of such circumstances of the case, after hearing the explanation of the accused that the blood which was found on her shirt was due to menstruation, and after hearing also the conclusion of the corps physician, Dr.Krivoshein, to the effect that the blood on the shirt came from menstruation, the court found the defendant guilty of the murder of a soldier whose name could not be verified, and sentenced her to death. The verdict was read to the defendant one hour after it had been returned. Two hours later sentence was executed.

The signatures of the Chairman and members of the Court-Martial follow.

But the most shocking document of the whole series collected by Temkin—as far as its centents are concerned—is the letter signed by "Stepan" and written on a sheet bearing the heading of Adjutant of

General Shkuro's Special Cavalry Detachment, in which we read the following:

"My dear Kostia, come to my lodgings tonight at 7 o'clock to have a cup of tea with us. We are preparing to show you something very interesting. Denys has chosen a little Jew whom he calls a "commissar", and with whom he intends to amuse himself in the most pleasant way. He has prepared something like a crown and a bamboo stick. He will put the crown upon the head of the little Jew, and will press it with the help of the stick until the skull breaks. It is very interesting, is it not? I can imagine what the little Jew will do! By the way, Irene Petrovna and Anna Nikolayevna will also be present. I count upon you.

In the face of such pointed sadism of the "intellectuals" even the exploits of the "barbarous Zaporozhets", Kozir-Zirka, and others pale into nothingness.

EXTRACTS

from the book by Arnold Margolin

"The Ukraine and the policy of the Entente"

(Memorandum by a Jew and a citizen).

Publisher C. Efron. Berlin, 1921. Chapter XXIV. Pages 310—315.

Pogroms of the period of the Directorate, and of Denikin's Army. — Parallels. — Nations and Governments.

I have before me the report on pogroms, prepared by the Relief Committee for the Victims of Pogroms, at the Russian Red Cross in Kiev. It is stated in the report that there were no pogroms during the rule of the Central Council, or of Skoropadsky, or during the first two months of the Directorate's rule. Pogroms began after defeats that had been inflicted upon the troops of the Directorate by the Bolsheviks. The heavier the defeats and the farther Petlura's army was compelled to retreat, the more cruel was their vengeance upon the innocent Jewish population whom they identified with Communists. The slogan: "down with Jews and Communists," or "all Jews are Communists" were raised throughout the Ukraine and provoked pogroms everywhere.

This explanation of the origin of pogroms is quite identical with the statement made in Temnytsky's and Vasylko's telegram of August 1, 1919. In the course of centuries the entire population of Russia had been listening to accusations by the government of Jews being responsible for all the evils in the world. The ignorant masses believed even the legends about the ritual murder of Christian children by Jews, while even the "specialists" in this subject were declaring that Jews kill *only* boys. Karab-Tchevsky tells us in the first part of his memoirs ("What My Eyes Saw") that his mother had already in his childhood read to him the New Testament, and when it came to the torturing of Jesus Christ, his nurse or housemaid would exclaim: "the hideous Jews, they surely killed Christ by torture!" (p. 23).

The pogroms of the years 1880 in Kishinev and Homel, came as the result of *false rumors* and of *promises of exemption from punishment for plundering during three days*. This time, however, the participation of Jews in the Bolshevik movement was no more a rumor, but a fact

which it was very easy to exaggerate. On the other side, the impunity for plundering lasted this time not only three days, but indefinitely on account of the absence of any authority that could stop the plundering. For, what authority could exist during the panic of retreat before Trotsky's army? . . . Under such conditions a favorable atmosphere was created for the rapacious instincts of the demoralized segments of the army, as well as for the development of the ideological barbarity of Semesenko and for the provocateurs from the Russian Black-Hundred camp, who were pogrommongers by conviction and wished at the same time to discredit the Ukrainian movement by branding it as being guilty of pogroms.

All this, of course, is not justification, but only one of many explanations of the origin of pogroms during the period of the Directorate.

Quite a different picture is displayed by the comparison of this period of pogroms with the pogroms by Denikin's army. Here is no question of retreat and of chaos that is connected with retreat. On the contrary, the more successful the advance, the more organized and stronger is the propaganda from above and the more according to plan the pogroms are developed. If the beginning of the demoralization of the Ukrainian army was at its tail, by Denikin's army the poison of demoralization came from the head. As we have seen already, the Denikin officers openly declared that they were fighting not against the Bolsheviks, but against the Jews.

To be sure, there were also in Denikin's army many persons of a purely rapacious type. But the most horrible thing was the deeply rooted anti-Semitism of the chiefs that surrounded Denikin, and their sadistic hate of Jews. I, personally, am not inclined to assume that Denikin himself wanted pogroms. Even to Denikin, in spite of his anti-Semitism, it was impossible not to see the fatal results of pogroms for his army. But he, too, was powerless on the question of pogroms, nor had he any inclination to come forward in defense of the Jews.

The second characteristic feature which distinguishes the very course of the pogroms in one area from the other consists in the fact that in Petlura's army, we surely find cases when some individual persons or groups succeeded in preventing or stopping pogroms. Two such cases are cited by Temkin in his report, the other two cases are given in the report of the Relief Committee for the Victims of Pogroms. Red Army soldiers arranged an anti-Jewish pogrom in the city of Korosten on March 13, 1919. When the soldiers of Petlura's army which was at that time advancing, reached the city, they stopped the pogroms. In Bila Tserkva the Ukrainian army—having expelled in August the Denikin troops of Gen. Shkuro and then the Red troops, who one after another plundered and massacred the population—behaved in full dignity until in turn they were substituted by Zeleny's bands that immediately arranged a pogrom.

Later the unfortunate town was attacked by Sokolov's bands, after which the Ukrainian troops again succeeded in restoring order for a short time.

Lubny escaped a pogrom thanks to the fact that a hundred men were found in the Ukrainian ranks, who with their arms stood in the way of the pogrommakers. Fourteen of the defenders fell in the fight but the town was saved. While reading the story about Lubny in this part of the report, I recalled the year 1905 when a City Committee of Defense was organized in Lubny, which also saved the city from a pogrom.

Such facts were unknown in Denikin's army. Here the "guilty" of such patronage and defense of Jews were punished with dismissal from their posts.

The third feature, a very disadvantageous one for Denikin's army and government, appears as the result of the comparison of the declarations by the Ukrainian government on the Jewish question, of laws concerning personal-national autonomy and Jewish Communities on the one hand,—with the clauses restricting the number of Jews in educational institutions as well as in civil and military services in Denikin's empire—on the other hand. Here, on the part of the Ukrainian government, an effort to draw on representatives of Jews in all levels of government posts, and over there—in Denikin's camp—removal of Jewish officers from the army, and of Jewish officials from district and city offices. And this—in spite of the fact that so many Jews joined voluntarily at the very beginning Koltchak's and Denikin's armies. And how many Jews having been brought up with a Russian culture died for Russia that had been always a stepmother to them? On the other hand, how small a group of us, Jews, joined the Ukrainian movement at the beginning of the second revolution! Of course, there was nothing strange in it. Wilson's points had been declared but recently, and the realization of the right of self-determination by the Ukrainian people was such a new and fresh event that not only the average Jewish citizen, but also the intellectuals, with few exceptions, did not digest or understand all that had happened. But the fact remains, Jews were represented by a very considerable number in the ranks both of the Bolsheviks and, at the beginning, of Denikin's army. The Ukrainian movement was joined only by a few Jews.

The representatives of Russian and Jewish capital and heavy industry were marching hand-in-hand with the Volunteer Armies of Denikin, Yudenitch, and Koltchak. And even after all those pogroms committed by Denikin's army, the Jewish capitalists and industrialists followed the call of his successor Wrangel, and joined him.

Finally, one more feature out of many others that distinguish the Ukrainian Movement from that of Denikin: An anti-Jewish pogrom was

openly carried on in Kiev in the presence of Denikin's generals, Drahomirov and Bredov. Never did happen anything like that, wherever the Directorate set up headquarters, neither in Kiev, nor in Vynnytsia, nor in Kamanets-Podolsk. The Kiev population knows from bitter experience the difference between those two regimes.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these quite essential differences, here abroad the pogroms of the followers of Petlura are much more known than those perpetrated by Denikin's army, although the latter numerically and qualitatively surpassed considerably the former. This is to be explained not only by the propaganda of the Russian groups which have old connections and larger means in Europe and America, but also by the incontestable fact that the first series of pogroms attracted the greatest attention and brought forth the strongest expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the public.

FROM A GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION
TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UKRAINE*)

Riwne, April 12, 1919.

To preserve the peace and to maintain public law and order—as the first condition of a free life for all citizens of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic—the Ukrainian Government will fight with all its power against violations of public order, will strike the brigands and pogrom instigators with the severest punishment and expose them publicly. Above all the Government will not tolerate any pogroms against the Jewish population in the Ukraine, and will employ every available means for the purpose of combating these abject criminals, dangerous to the State, who are disgracing our nation in the eyes of all the civilized nations of the world.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic is certain that the Ukrainian people—who themselves have suffered national slavery through many years and are conscious of the worth of national freedom and therefore proclaimed before all things the national-personal autonomy of the minorities in the Ukraine—will support the Ukrainian Government in eliminating these evil-doers who are the scum of humanity.

(signed) Martos,
President of the Cabinet Council of the Ukrainian
Democratic Republic.

*) This and all ensuing documents are from: „Die Lage der Juden in der Ukraine“, Berlin, 1920.

An Interview with Dr. Arnold Margolin in 1919

Dr. Arnold Margolin, Head of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in London, Chairman of the "Jewish Territorial Society" in the Ukraine, was born in Kiev (in 1877), attended Kiev University, and established himself in Kiev as an attorney. Since 1903 he had been noted as a counsel for the defense of the injured in pogrom excesses. Besides, he participated as a counsel for the defense in many agrarian and political court trials. For his revelations in the well-known Beilis case he was prosecuted by the Minister of Justice of that time, Shcheglovitov, with the result that the further practice of law was forbidden to him. He has taken part in the Ukrainian Movement for many years, and has occupied himself with social problems in the Ukraine. After the Revolution he was a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist-Federalist Party, and for a time he was Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the spring of 1919 he went to Paris as a member of the Ukrainian Peace Delegation. Since January 1920 he has been the head of the Ukrainian Diplomatic Mission in London.—

What is the attitude of the Jews toward the new Ukrainian State?

On the question of independence of the Ukraine the Jews were split into two camps. On the one side there were the assimilated Jews who having been brought up in the All-Russian political spirit took a stand hostile to the new Ukrainian State. On the other side there were the majority of the Jews—the nationalists, Zionists and the Jewish Socialist Parties—who declared their sympathy for Ukrainian endeavors. The Jews who were themselves an oppressed nation welcomed with sympathy the national struggle of the Ukrainians.

The Jews were also split as to their attitude toward the socialist program of the new state. The left wing of the Bund and Poalej-Zion went hand-in-hand with the left Ukrainian parties that were for the exclusion of the bourgeoisie from the government. The majority of Jews were on the side of those Ukrainian parties that interceded for the West-European political system. But in spite of these differences, almost all Jewish parties and organizations recognized the right of the Ukrainian nation to its independence.

What is the attitude of the Ukrainian government toward the Jews?

In the Ukraine which together with Galicia has a population of 40 millions there live $3\frac{1}{2}$ million (8%) Jews. After the Revolution

the ruling power in the Ukraine rested in a parliament in which all parties of the country, including Jewish, were represented. That parliament ("Tsentralna Rada") granted the Jews more freedom and rights than they had anywhere in Europe at any time. All national minorities, of course Jews too, were granted autonomy. It must be stressed also that the Central Council (the Parliament) set up a Supreme Court to which those lawyers were appointed as judges, who had had courage to take a stand against the Rusian government during the Beilis trial.—

Here Margolin narrated the fate of the Ukraine after the overthrow of the Tsentralna Rada and during the rule of Hetman Skoropadsky, and then continued:

Hetman's rule lasted only eight months. [After its overthrow] The Petlura Government renewed the autonomy of national minorities and again appointed Jewish ministers, viz. Mr. Goldelman and myself. Jews belong also to the diplomatic missions which have been sent abroad by the Ukrainian government. The noted Jewish historian, Dr. Wischintzer, one of the editors of the Jewish Encyclopedia, is the secretary of the Ukrainian legation in England.

How does this government's attitude agree with the fact of anti-Jewish pogroms?

There is a difference between pogroms which, unfortunately, have occurred now in the Ukraine, and pogroms in Russia during the tsarist regime. While the tsarist government had itself instigated and organized pogroms, the Ukrainian government is in no way responsible for them. In November 1918 I myself saw the proclamations of the government in the Ukrainian villages and ciites which veryx vehemently condemned the pogroms and explained to the Ukrainian people that the Jews are Ukrainian fellow-citizens and brothers to whom full rights are due. When, however, demoralization had set in the units of the Ukrainian army, its worst elements began to plunder. Again the Ukrainian government rose vigorously against the pogroms, punishing with death the perpetrators of the pogroms and expressing its sorrow for the victims. To my regret, I must state that the latest pogroms which, as far as I know, took place during the months of February and March were exceedingly serious. They have been perpetrated by the people of the Black Hundred and by provocateurs for the purpose of discrediting the Ukrainian government.

Those occurrences made a shocking imperssion upon me, and at the end of March I tended the government my resignation. I recognized the fact that the government was blameless; I found it, however, hard to occupy an official post in a country in which my brothers were slaughtered. My resignation was not accepted and the government requested me to continue in my official duties, at least abroad. Now I am one of

the four representatives of the Ukraine at the Peace Conference. There is no anti-Semitic tendency in the Ukrainian government.

Margolin denies that Jews are playing an important role in the Bolshevik movement, as it is generally assumed. To be sure, there are also Jews among the Bolsheviks, but among Jews in general the Bolsheviks constitute merely an insignificant minority. The Jewish Zionist and other patriotic organizations received 70% of the votes at all elections. There were no Jews at all among the Russian sailors who played such an important part in the Bolshevik revolution.

The fact that there are seemingly so many Jews among the Bolsheviks, Margolin attributed to the circumstance that Jews distinguish themselves in all activity by their great energy, and hence the impression arises that there are many Jews in each political party.

(“The Jewish Chronicle”, London, May 16, 1919.)

A Declaration of a Zionist leader, Mr. M. Sigal.

M. Sigal, a representative of the Zionist organization in Kamenets-Podolsk, expressed himself concerning the attitude of the Ukrainian Jews toward the Ukrainian movement for national independence, among other things, as follows:

Today, on the second anniversary of the proclamation of the First Decree I should like to inform you what the attitude of the Jews was toward that first action of the Ukrainian people, how the Jewish masses reacted to this Decree, and especially the Zionist organization which is at the head of the Jewish people, having received at the elections for the Constitutional Assembly and for municipal councils from 70% to 80% of the Jewish vote. I have in mind at this moment the Zionist national Congress in Kiev. At that time there was no unity among Jews as to their attitude toward the Ukrainian national movement. But the late leader of Ukrainian Zionism, N. S. Syrkin, was able to defeat his opponents by his youthful and passionate appeal; he said he could not believe that the reborn Ukrainian people would build their happiness upon the misfortune of other peoples. He would not believe that a nation which itself had been oppressed for hundreds of years would oppress other nations. The national Zionist Congress took Syrkin's position and expressed in a resolution its heartiest congratulations to the Ukrainian people on their reawakening to a new life.

Indeed, the national-personal autonomy is the bright side in the history of Ukrainian-Jewish relations. We believe that the Jews and Ukrainians will soon find a common voice, and that they will help each other in building a national life.

(“Podolsky Krai”, July 7, 1919.)

Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv
(Journal of State Laws), July 17, 1919.

*Law Concerning the Establishing of an Extraordinary Commission
for the Investigation of Anti-Jewish Pogroms.*

1. For the purpose of investigating anti-Jewish pogroms an Extraordinary Investigating Commission with vast powers is to be instituted.
2. All cases in which the Commission verified the guilt of the persons shall be handed over to a special military court.
3. The Extraordinary Investigating Commission has the following obligation:
 - a) All-embracing investigation of the anti-Jewish pogroms and of the criminal agitation against the Jewish population on the territory of the Ukraine;
 - b) Establishing of the guilt of the persons and summoning them before a court.
4. The Commission brings a lawsuit at the suggestion of the Minister of Justice with the understanding of the Minister for Jewish Affairs.
5. The Commission consists of: the Chairman who is to be appointed by the Directorate in accordance with the proposal of the Minister of Justice, approved by the Cabinet of Ministers; five members who shall be nominated by responsible Ministers, one from each of the Ministry of Labor, Justice, War, Inxterior Affairs, and Jewish Affairs.
6. For the legality of the decisions of the Commission, the participation of the Chairman of the Commission, or of his deputy is necessary—the representative of the Minister of Justice serving as the deputy, likewise of not fewer than two members of the Commission, and of its secretary or of his assistant.
7. The decisions of the Commission are not subject to any appeal. However, notice of an appeal may be given against orders and actions of individual members of the Commission or persons who carry out the

instructions of the members; the making of an appeal does not further action on the case.

8. The Commission shall, be assigned a secretary, his assistants, and three officials appointed by the Chairman of the Commission.

9. The Commission and its individual member who work by order of the Commission, likewise those persons who are at the disposal of the Commission in conducting investigations have full rights of examining magistrates functioning at regular or military courts and they fulfill their duty according to Penal and Military Court Statutes.

10. The Commission is empowered to assign to examining magistrates serving at military or regular courts, the members of District courts, the members of Courts of Appeal, or of Military Courts, the obligation of carrying out investigations according to some special or general instructions, and these persons count as having been put at the disposal of the Investigating Commission.

11. The Commission, its individual members, and the persons who have been put at its disposal have the right to enter into direct communication with all magistrates and authorities, to seize directly the correspondence relative to the confiscate cash and other valuables, to forbid disposal of property belonging to persons involved in the investigation, to search houses and make arrests; they also have the right to demand help and cooperation from all individual persons as from state, communal and private institutions.

12. The Commission has the right to institute criminal proceedings directly against officials of all grades for a general offense or for a misdemeanor in office, which is connected with the pogrom events. This order shall not include magistrates of civil and military courts.

13. The Commission has the right to remove temporarily from their posts all officials who are involved in the investigation, with the exception of the persons mentioned in Paragraph 12 of this law. The instructions on the dismissal shall be submitted to the proper superior authorities for their execution. The officers of the first three grades may be removed temporarily from their posts on the basis of a motion by the Investigating Commission, which has been supported by the Minister of Justice and approved by the Cabinet of Ministers.

14. The prosecution shall be instituted on the basis of a commission's order in the presence of a member of a public prosecuting authority.

15. The Commission submits the examined case, together with its decision made in accordance with the instructions of Art. 520 of the penal

proceedings, to the proper military chief having the rank of a corps commandant, who shall set up a military court for the purpose of trying this case according to the law of January 26, 1919.

Note: If the Ministries of Justice, War, and for Jewish Affairs declare it necessary, the Members of the Extraordinary Military Court shall be appointed by the Directorate on the basis of a joint proposal of the three said Ministers.

16. The Commission has the right, without waiting until the end of the whole investigation, to hand over the completed case of individual accused persons to a regular court.
17. The costs for sustaining the Extraordinary Investigating Commission shall be borne by the State Treasury, and the necessary sums shall be remitted to the Minister of Justice in accordance with the stipulations of the Ordinance about advance-payment.
18. In addition to fixed salaries—including here all extra pay, for instance, a moving allowance, which is paid to persons in State offices where they are permanently occupied, the chairman and members of the Commission, as well as the persons attached to the Commission for permanent cooperation shall receive for their work on the Commission 50 hryvnas daily, and this money shall be paid them each week.
19. The chairman and members of the Commission who have no public officers' posts receive for their work on the Commission, 150 hryvnas, and 120 hryvnas a day respectively the money being paid each week.
20. The office employees who have been sent to work for the Commission from their State posts, besides their salary and all extra payments, including a moving allowance, which is due them at their permanent posts, receive for their work on the Commission 30 hryvnas a day, the money being paid weekly.
21. The office workers who have no State officials' posts receive salaries for their work on the Commission according to the decision of the Chairman of the Commission: the Secretary not more than 100 hryvnas, the other workers not more than 80 hryvnas a day.
22. The Chairman of the Commission possesses the privileges of a third grade magistrate, and the members of the Commission—of fourth grade magistrates.
23. An advance payment of 200 000 hryvnas shall be assigned to the Minister of Justice from the State Treasury for the purpose of covering the expenses of organizing the Extraordinary Investigating Commission, and carrying out this Law.

24. This Law goes into effect immediately after its announcement by telegraph.

For the President of the Cabinet Ministers:

(signed) Andrey Livitsky.

Minister for Jewish Affairs:

(signed) P. Krasny.

The above Law was accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers under No. 322 on May 27, 1919, endorsed by the Directorate in the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, and signed by the Head of the Directorate, S. Petlura, by its members A. Makarenko, and by the Secretary F. Shvets; it was attested by the deputy State Secretary Ivan Lyzanivsky.

Reception of a delegation of Jewish citizens by Petlura.

On July 17 of this year the Commander-in-Chief Petlura received a delegation of Jewish citizens at the Office of the Directorate in Kamenets-Podlisk. The Delegation included: Dr. Meier Kleiderman, the representative of the Jewish community; Alterman, the representative of the Zionist organization; Gutman, the representative of the rabbis; Kreis, the representative of artisans; Bograd, the representative of the United Socialists (*Obednantsi*), an Blachles, the representative of the Poalej-Zion Party.

Petlura addressed the Delegation with a short speech in which he declared that he himself as well as the government were always standing on the side of the Jewish people, and were waging war against those elements who incited the unenlightened masses to various excesses against Jews. The Commander-in-Chief invited the representatives of the Jewish people to a closer cooperation of both peoples for the good of the Ukrainian State, for, only with united forces would it be possible to look after the interests of both peoples, which had always been identical.

The Jewish delegation assured the Supreme Commander that all strata of the Jewish people, hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian people, would defend the independent Ukraine, because only a Ukrainian democratic government could guarantee full rights to the Jews. The delegation asked for granting of an opportunity to Jewish intellectuals to work toward strengthening Ukrainian statehood, and for protection of the Jewish population against the excesses which have taken place as the result of provocation on the part of various Russian reactionaries and Polish imperialists who thus wish to discredit the whole Ukrainian cause in the eyes of Europe.

Petlura pledged himself to apply the severest measures in suppressing the crimes of the anti-Jewish agitators, and asked the delegation in particular to exert their influence also upon the Jewish population behind the battlefield that they should support the Ukrainian Army in its struggle against the Bolsheviks.

(Trudowa Hromada, July 18, 1919.)

Wisnyk Ukrainskoji Narodnoji Respubliky
(State Journal of the Ukrainian Democratic
Republic), August 9th, 1919.

**TO ALL THE JEWISH CITIZENS AND WORKERS
IN THE UKRAINE**

The Ukrainian Democratic Republic is waging violent war against its enemies of the right and left for its existence and independence, for the preservation of the rights of the toiling people to ownership of land, and for securing the laws for the protection of all laboring people. The Russian Communists-Bolshevists cannot wean themselves from traditional Russian imperialism and they consider themselves the tsarist heirs in the Ukraine. In the hope of being able to establish Communism by means of bayonets and through civil war, they incite in the masses of the people the ugliest instincts and the worst impulses. That system of work has brought the corresponding results: a hurricane of anti-Jewish pogroms has swept throughout the Ukraine.

The government, being at the head of the Republic, and the Commander-in-Chief Petlura, are carrying on a vigorous fight against the pogroms.

For the purpose of investigating all cases of pogroms and pogrom instigations as well as for delivering the guilty ones to special military court, a special Investigating Commission with extensive powers has been appointed. Members of this Commission are also representatives of Jewish democrats.

An office of State Inspectors with extensive authority has been set up in the army; these inspectors are conducting a vigorous campaign against pogrom elements in the army.

The last conference of inspectors approved the proposal of the Minister for Jewish Affairs to have representatives of that minister among the Inspectors.

The Commander-in-Chief, Petlura, has issued a series of orders by which he demands the radical suppression of all attempts at pogroms, and the execution of all pogrom instigators, making the military and civil authorities responsible for carrying out his orders. The special Military Tribunal has passed a series of death sentences; many pogrom instigators have already been shot.

In his many proclamations the Commander-in-Chief, Petlura, emphasizes the fact that a large-scale support is being given by the Jewish population to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in its struggle for existence and independence, and appeals to all the people as well as to the partisans on the other side of the battlefield to suppress thoroughly the pogroms which are ruining the country and endangering to a large extent the very existence of our republic.

The government is willing to help in a positive way with the "All-Ukrainian Central Relief Committee of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs for Aiding the Victims of the Pogroms" in the matter of reconstruction and repairs of Jewish settlements. As the first step in that direction 20 million hryvnas from the State Treasury have been assigned.

The Government stands fast behind the law on national-personal autonomy, and is resolved to enforce it fully. Recently a new law has been promulgated which gives the Jewish community self-government with broad powers and the right of taxation.

The Jewish population supports actively the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. At their numerous meetings all the Jewish political parties have expressed themselves for the complete independence of the Ukraine.

The Jewish democrats,—with Bund, Obyednantsi, Poalej-Zion and the People's Party at their head,—whose representatives belong to the Council of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs, and whose important leaders hold many responsible positions in the Ministeries, support the Ukrainian People's Government.

The Jewish population, and especially the Jewish workers, took an active part in the celebration of the First Proclamation because the Jewish population is mindful and conscious of the fact that the day of the First Proclamation was at the same time for the Jews the first herald of their national and personal autonomy which, in fact, was soon proclaimed (on January 9, 1918). The healthy national feeling induces the Jewish population to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the Ukrainian democrats for the independence of the Ukraine, for, the liberation of the Ukraine means at the same time the liberation of Ukrainian Jews who by a thousand threads are bound to the social and economic structure and to the fate of the Ukraine: only in an independent and democratic Ukraine is there possible the development of trade and handicraft on which the Jewish laboring masses subsist.

While in the Republican Army the idea of a peaceful companionship among the peoples of the Ukraine is gaining more and more a firm footing; and while the Army purges itself more and more of the pogrom elements, and the many bodies of troops show signs of recovery,—the Bolshevik army shows more and more threatening signs of inner demoralization and dissolution. Recently a whole series of anti-Jewish pogroms took place, which were perpetrated by various Bolshevik troops.

And the farther and mightier advances the victorious march of the united republican and Galician armies which, by the way, reveal a considerable number of Jewish soldiers and officers in their ranks, the more demoralization increases in the Bolshevik army.

Bolshevism by its terror and dictatorship has crushed the forces of united democracy, and has prepared the ground for the successful advance of Russian reaction in the form of a Denikiad which brings with itself the danger of a tsarist restoration in the truest meaning of the word.

Jewish citizens and workers! Remember the threatening danger! Remember that it is your duty to help save the Ukraine from the threatening Bolshevik anarchy, and to defend your civil, political and national rights against the fearful reaction which is coming with the Denikin regime.

Remember that the paths of the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples are closely bound together, and that they have three hundred years of annihilation and enslavement by Russian tsarist behind them.

As Ukrainian citizens with equal rights, defend together with the Ukrainian people your common fatherland!

Long live the Independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic!

Long live the brotherly and just companionship of the Ukrainian and Jewish peoples in the Ukraine!

Long live national-personal autonomy!

Long live the united laboring masses of all peoples in the Ukraine!

Long live Socialism!

President of the Cabinet Council: Borys Martos.
Minister for Jewish Affairs: Pinchos Krasny.

Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv
(Journal of State Laws), August 15, 1919.

Ordinance Concerning the Assignment of 11 460 000 hryvnas to the Minister for Jewish Affairs for the Purpose of Assisting the Poor Jewish population in the Cities and Places Affected by Pogroms.

The Minister for Jewish Affairs is to be assigned from the State Treasury 11 460 000 (eleven million four hundred and sixty thousand) hryvnas for the purpose of assisting the poor Jewish population in the cities and places affected by pogroms. The carrying out of this Ordinance is to be ordered by wire.

President of the Cabinet Council: (signed) B. Martos.
Minister for Jewish Affairs: (signed) P. Krasny.

Decree of the Cabinet Council of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic,

August 18, 1919.

(Record of the Proceedings No. 171)

The Cabinet Council, after hearing the report of the Minister for Jewish Affairs, Mr. P. A. Krasny, on the situation as it appeared in connection with the anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine—particularly in Kiev—and in connection with the reaction of public opinion abroad, resolve as follows:

The Ukrainian and Jewish peoples both of whom work at the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, find themselves in the face of the common enemies who are trying to sow discord and anarchy in order to destroy the Ukrainian Republic which they hate. For this purpose your enemies organize pogroms, spin provocative news about pogroms in the Ukraine so as to exploit them for their imperialistic objectives and to attain mastery over the Ukrainian people—with the help of the Polish ruling classes, or of the Denikin reactionaries. In deliberately lying and provocative reports they are changing arbitrarily the places of the pogroms which are arranged in the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks and by the reactionary clique who are in close connection with Denikin's and Polish reactionary circles' secret plans. In mendacious publications and in public letters addressed to the leading representatives of European countries, all these happenings are charged to the account of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, although its aim it is to suppress vigorously all pogroms.

In view of the fact that such provocations and aims of the Polish and Denikin reactionaries endanger the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian Republic as well as the peaceful coexistence of the peoples of the Ukraine, the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic have set themselves the most urgent task of doing away with all possibility of provocations, pogroms or other excesses, and of calling to account all persons hostile to the Ukrainian State, who are doing the treacherous pogrom work in the Ukraine.

The Government has decided:

1. To make at once a proposal to the Commander-in-Chief, Petlura that he issue an order by which all commanders of the respective bodies of troops, from the lowest to the highest ones, would be called to account for negligence and tolerating pogrom excesses, and that they would be

immediately arrested as traitors and handed over to a special court-martial which would impose upon them the severest penalty, *including the death sentence*.

2. To issue an order in the name of the Government and in the name of the Commander-in-chief to the Ukrainian partisans on the other side of the battlefield that they also 1. should take a vigorous action against the instigators of pogroms, 2. fight against particular treacherous pogrom bands and annihilate them—always remembering that the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic does not tolerate pogroms on its victorious march and inflicts the severe punishment upon all the guilty ones.

3. To appoint immediately a special government commission with extensive powers of investigating pogroms and of combating them; the said commission to be composed of one representative from the following offices: The Commander-in-Chief, the Inspector General, the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the Minister for Jewish Affairs. The Commission should proceed at once to the frontline to the area of liberated cities and other places of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Commander-in-Chief should be advised to order an authorization with full powers to the Commission.

4. Through inspections, the bodies of troops and the commissioners of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic should be informed about the foreign provocative work of the enemies of the Ukrainian Republic, who exploit the pogrom excesses for their own purposes.

5. By means of a special report from the Prime Minister, to inform the Directorate of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic of this Decree, and to manifest the Government's firm determination and effort in the direction of removing completely any possibility of pogroms in the Ukraine.

6. To issue an appropriate proclamation of the government to the people.

7. The Minister for Press and Information should initiate an intensive campaign against pogrom arrangers; inform the foreign press and foreign public about the actual state of affairs, and protest against the outrageous slandering of the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

8. The Minister of Justice should at once take steps that all those who are guilty of pogrom excesses, i.e. those who already have been arrested as well as those who may be arrested, should be handed over to a special court.

9. This Decree is to be made public.

(*Ukraina*, August 21, 1919.)

Army Order of the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, August 26, 1919.
No. 131.

Officers and Soldiers!

It is time for your to realize that the Jews together with the majority of the Ukrainian population have recognized the evil of the Bolshevik-Communist invasion, and know already where the truth lies. The most important Jewish parties, such as: "Bund", "United Jewish Socialists", "Poalej-Zion" and "People's Party", have decidedly placed themselves on the side of the Ukrainian independent state and are working together hand-in-hand for its good.

It is time for you to understand that the peaceful Jewish population, their children and women the same as ourselves have been oppressed and deprived of national freedom. They can not be alienated from us, they have of old been always with us and they have shared with us their joys and sorrows.

The gallant army which brings brotherhood, equality, and freedom to all peoples of the Ukraine should not be lending an ear to various adventurers and provocateurs who long for human blood. Likewise, the Army should not be a party in bringing a hard lot on the Jews. Whoever is guilty of permitting such a heavy crime, is a traitor and enemy of the country and must be thrust out of human society.

Officers and soldiers! The whole world cannot but admire our heroic deeds in the struggle for freedom. Do not stain those deeds—not even accidentally—by disgraceful actions and do not bring down burning shame upon our state in the face of the whole world. Our many enemies, external as well as internal, are already profiting by the pogroms; they are pointing their fingers at us and inciting against us saying that we are not worthy of an independent national existence and that we deserve to be again forcefully harnessed to the yoke of slavery.

I, your Commander-in-Chief, tell you that this very moment the question of to be or not to be for our independent existence is being decided before the International Tribunal.

Officers and soldiers! The judgement on this question rests in your hands, so decide it by showing an armed fist against our enemies remembering always that a clean cause demands clean hands. Be sure

that a severe and lawful punishment by a people's court will overtake all enemies of our country; but remember also that vengeance—often the result of want of careful consideration—is not the way of the Ukrainian Cossacks. I most positively order that all those who are instigating you to pogroms be thrust out of the army, and as traitors to the fatherland be handed over to the court. Let the court punish them according to their crimes by giving them the severest lawful penalty.

The Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic recognizing the harm done to the state by the pogroms has issued an appeal to the whole population of the Ukraine to withstand all attempts of the enemies who might arouse it to anti-Jewish pogroms.

I command the whole army to obey this appeal and to provide for its widest dissemination among comrades-in-arms and among the population.

This Army Order is to be read to all divisions, brigades, regiments, garrisons and squadrons of the Dnieper and Dniester armies as well as the partisan detachments.

The Commander-in-Chief:
Petlura.

The Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander:
Junakiv.

Appeal of the Commander-in-Chief, Petlura, to the Ukrainian Army.

Soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

The Ukrainian Republican People's Army of the Dnieper and Dniester territories, now united into one army, is advancing victoriously, is crushing the enemy, gaining each day new territories of the Ukraine to liberate them from the Bolshevik brigands, bringing with them freedom to the Ukrainian people as well as the certainty of happy days of living in a peaceful and orderly state.

The Bolshevik anarchy and maladministration, the horrible Red terror, the tyranny of the extraordinary inquiry commission and of other criminals for whom there is nothing sacred in life—have sapped our people's strength to the utmost and have flooded our steppes with human tears and with streams of blood of the innocent.

Amidst a peal of church bells, with bread and salt, with flowers and tears of joy the weary, oppressed and pillaged Ukrainian people are greeting you, their valiant warriors, as liberators from the yoke and from Bolshevik atrocities, as flesh of their flesh and blood of their blood.

A mighty national enthusiasm has seized our people at your entry into villages and towns, and everywhere a festive reception is awaiting you—and all this has been brought about by you, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army!

You are living now through glorious and never to be forgotten moments of your life, and together with you all peoples inhabiting the Ukrainian territory are experiencing the same enthusiasm.

The holy crusade for the liberation of the oppressed, regardless of their nationality, for the rule of law and order under freedom and democracy and the independence of our republic—these are the ideals in this struggle.

The union of all democratic forces of all nationalities in the Ukraine, standing for the independence of our Republic, and their participation in the reconstruction of the state will warrant our victory over our enemies, and will guarantee to us an independent life subject to no one.

Our enemies, however, are not sleeping but only watching our every step in order to sow discord among us in one way or another, and thus to frustrate the immediate realization of our people's efforts.

The Bolsheviks themselves consider the Ukraine Moscow's inheritance—with the difference that formerly it was the heritage of black Moscow, now of a Red noe.

They see that the end of their rule in the Ukraine is already approaching because the Ukrainian people themselves have risen against them: but they do not give up yet their hope of subjugating the Ukrainian masses. By provocations for which they are spending enormous sums of money they want to divide us from within, hiring criminal elements who are inciting our soldiers to all sorts of outrages and pogroms against the innocent Jewish population; in this way they want to stamp our soldiers as pogrom-mongers, although these soldiers are bringing liberty to all peoples of the Ukraine.

Our enemies intend thus to split the Ukrainian and Jewish laboring masses whose ways, in fact, have been bound together by three hundred years of Russian tsarist yoke.

Our national army must bring equality, brotherhood and freedom to the Ukrainian as well as the Jewish citizens who are also supporting actively the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. All their parties, i. e.: Bund, Obyednantsi, Poalej-Zion and People's Party are standing on the principles of the independence of the Ukraine, and are participating in the reconstruction of the republic.

I know myself how the representatives of the Jewish population have helped our army and supported our legal republican government.

The enemies of our state, the Bolsheviks, are shooting down not only the Ukrainian but also the Jewish people, depriving the others of the barest means of living.

I have the highest esteem for the sacrifices made during this war upon the altar of the fatherland by the Jewish population.

From the reports by the commanders of our brave divisions and corps as well from reports by State Inspectors I have already learned that the Jewish population brought help to our wounded and sick soldiers, in the hospitals which had been built hastily 3—5 kilometers behind the battlefronts.

I have been touched deeply by tears of thankfulness in the eyes of our soldiers for the loving care and human aid given them by Jews, and I have noted with satisfaction how the soldiers of our army were standing guard at the shops and stores of Jewish in order to protect them against plunderers.

The restoration of a bridge at Starokonstantyniv—which had been destroyed by the Bolsheviks—by the Jewish population in an exceedingly short time, as well as their help with foodstuffs and underwear testify also to the loyal conduct of Jews in relation to our army.

I am convinced and I ardently hope that in the future such help on the part of Jews will occur ever more frequently and that they will continue to further the cause of peace in our country.

The Minister for Jewish Affairs has by a series of measures already exercised some influence upon the Bolshevik circles of Jews so that many of them no longer support Bolshevism, since they consider it now to be their ruin.

Together with you I call upon the Jewish citizens to go with us and to support wholeheartedly our army and our government; then we shall be able to affirm that the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and you, its army, will finish that great responsible work which you are now doing—destroying the power of the Bolsheviks and building up our independent republic in which each nationality enjoys full rights and a peaceful life.

Officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army! The Ukrainian-Jewish laboring masses see in you their liberation, and future generations will not forget your services rendered to them; history will with pride record on its pages your achievements in this struggle. Beware of provocateurs, and have no mercy on provocateurs or on those who execute pogroms, or incite the weakest among you to this action.

Let the death sentence overtake the perpetrators of pogroms and provocateurs. I demand the strictest discipline from you so that not even a hair of an innocent's head be touched.

Bear in mind that you are the elite sons of your great nation which wants to live its independent life and to be subjugated by no one, and therefore keep an unflinching watch on its interests as well as on the interests of all those who help you and are well-disposed to you and to the liberation of your people.

Those who are guilty before the Ukrainian people and before the republic, no matter what their nationality, shall suffer the severest punishment according to law prevailing in the territory of the Ukrainian republic; to the innocent, however, you must bring liberation from the hated Bolshevik yoke.

The Republic's and my own cordial thanks to and high esteem for your martial bravery, devotion, and self-sacrifice which your offer upon the altar of the fatherland, while liberating our Ukraine and the nationalities living there—including the Jews—from the Bolsheviks.

May God help us in the great and sacred cause of liberating the nations from the heavy yoke of the Bolsheviks!

August 27, 1919
Commander-in-Chief: Petlura.
(*Ukraina*, September 2, 1919.)

A Declaration by the Jewish Social-democrats in Kamenets-Podolsk.

On August 26, 1919 at a common session of the Podolian District Committee and of the Kamenets-Podolsk City Committee of the Jewish Social-Democratic Party "Poalej-Zion", the following resolution concerning the immediate nomination of Party candidates for state positions was unanimously approved:

In view of the fact that the negative aspects in the situation which were brought up in April by Goldelman and Revutsky on the occasion of the negotiations with the representatives of the Government in Stanislav, now have been removed, viz.:

1. The Government and the Army Command are vigorously fighting against pogroms;
2. The agreement between the Ukrainian and Jewish democrats has assumed concrete forms and has already shown good results, whereby the Government wholly supports the Jewish Socialists and national democrats in the matter of national-personal autonomy as well as the policy of the present Ministry for Jewish Affairs;
3. The Government takes measures with a view to fully legalizing the Jewish socialist parties, and to making possible a parliamentary existence for the Communist political groups on condition they are loyal toward the Ukrainian Republic;
4. The Government is entirely socialist and is standing on a solid democratic basis;
5. The Ministry of Labor is in contact with trade union organizations and has expressed its willingness to reestablish workers' councils as the central representative organs of the proletariat with the right of consultation and inspection in labor and social-economic questions; in view of all these circumstances we deem it desirable that a member of our party take the post of a vice-minister with the right of sitting in the Cabinet-Council, this giving the only possibility to our party to assume the responsibility for the policy of the Government; further, that a member of our party take the post of a councillor in the Ministries of Labor and of State Economy; and finally, that the District Committee be instructed to set up immediately a list of candidates for the state posts.

(Ukraina, September 3, 1919.)

A Declaration by the Government

On September 3, 1919 there took place in the city theater hall at Kamenets-Podlosk a solemn meeting of the representatives of the Jewish Socialist Party "United Confederation" (i. e. "Bund") which was formed by the fusion of two Jewish socialist parties, that is "Bund" and "Obyednantsi".

The Minister of Labor, Bezpalko, made in the name of the government the following declaration: "I declare openly that the Government as well as the Supreme Command of the Army are taking all measures in order to stop the pogroms because those excesses are a fatal disaster not so much for the Jewish population but rather much more for the Ukrainian people themselves, and for their national rebirth. The pogroms are being provoked by the reactionary elements whose aim it is to discredit the Ukrainian movement. The same is being done by the Bolshevik reactionaries."

The Minister for Jewish Affairs, Mr. Krasny, expressed his wish that the Jewish democrats should go hand-in-hand with the Ukrainian democrats. "If the Jews,"—said Mr. Krasny, "now have the national-personal autonomy, then this is an achievement of our democracy."

The Chief of the Press Office, Mr. Cherkavsky, stressed in his speech the fact that the Jewish socialist parties have gone through an evolution in their attitude toward the Ukrainian movement. "There was a time," said he, "when the Jewish socialist parties did not go hand-in-hand with us. But now they are in favor of the necessity of establishing an independent Ukrainian Republic."

(Ukraina, September 6, 1919.)

Pronouncements by Dr. Mark Wischnitzer

Dr. Mark Wischnitzer is a well-known Jewish historian. He was one of the organizers of the Jewish Association for History and Ethnography in Petersburg. In 1908—1913 he cooperated as editor of the historical section in publishing the Russian-Jewish Encyclopedia.

One cannot deny that pogroms have really occurred in the Ukraine. As the result of the Russian Bolshevik invasion and of the temporary change of the seat of the government, anarchy prevails in the country. A complete loosening of discipline has the upper hand among the soldiers who are instigators of pogroms. The Ukraine has suffered painfully by these horrible occurrences, and in all places where the successes of the National Army have restored the authority of the Ukrainian government, life and property are protected. By an order of the Ukrainian government, investigations have been set in operation and the guilty ones have been shot. Four Jewish representatives are taking part in the Pogrom Investigating Commission: Mr. Achad Haam, Mr. Ussischkfin, Dr. Jochelman and Mr. Goldstein. Petlura, the head of the Ukrainian Directorate, has declared in his proclamation that he must call special attention to the assistance which is being rendered by the Jews in driving out the Bolsheviks and in supporting the Ukrainian Army as well as in aiding the wounded; he calls also upon the population to protect the Jews. Besides, the government has appropriated 20 million roubles for aiding the victims of pogroms.

Dr. Wischnitzer further denies that the Jews could expect much from Denikin or Koltchak. On the contrary, their victory and the reestablishing of the old regime would result in withdrawing the rights which have been granted the Jews by the Ukrainian government. One ought not to trust Denikin's promises.

(“The Jewish Chronicle,” London, Sept. 12, 1919)

*A Letter of Israel Zangwill to the Ukrainian government,
c/o the Ukrainian delegation in Paris*

We quote below an extract from a letter of October 20, 1919, by the well-known writer and chairman of the Jewish Territorial Organization (ITO), Israel Zangwill (London), to the Ukrainian government in reply to its invitation sent to him to take part in the Commission of Investigation of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine.

I take the opportunity to declare that there is no necessity for you to take this step, and to show your honest admission relative to the sad occurrences in the Ukrainian cities in order to convince me that your government has taken measures although, perhaps, not all possible measures—for the suppression of murders for which the uncertain conditions in Russia are mostly to blame. The fact that you have granted the Jews national rights testifies to your real statesmanship, and appears as a sharp contrast to Poland and its attitude toward the Jews, and I earnestly hope that your republic will endeavor to give the whole world an example of strength and lofty patriotism which are the result of friendly cooperation and mutual esteem of all various religious denominations and nationalities inhabiting a modern state. The danger that the massacres will surely ruin your state the same as it has destroyed those innocent Jewish victims, rather deepens my regret—being, as I am, an adherent of self-determination of nations—that you have till now not succeeded in suppressing fully the excesses.

An excerpt from "The Jewish autonomy in the Ukraine"

During the two years of existence of the independent Ukrainian state the public life of the Jews had the benefit of a free development. The Jewish language is officially recognized. Jewish ministers have been able to develop their activity. Jewish religious communities have been able to work peacefully, and new Jewish schools have been opened.

At the recently founded University in Kamenets-Podolsky a chair of Jewish history and literature has been established by the government, and with this the national rights of the Jewish people have been still more emphatically acknowledged.

The government of the West-Ukrainian Republic has shown much understanding in all cases concerning the autonomy requirements for the Jewish population. The Jews have acquired here, without any special efforts, those rights for which they [have been struggling] in other countries.

(Suisse-Orient, September, 1919.)
Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv

“Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv”
(Journal of State Laws), July 11, 1919.

In the name of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic

Approved: April 17, 1919.

Chairman of the Directorate: Petlura.

Member of the Directorate: A. Makarenko.

Secretary of the Directorate: F. Shvets.

Attested by the deputy-Secretary of State: Ivan Lyzaniivsky.

LAW

concerning

JEWISH COMMUNITY SELF-GOVERNMENT

accepted by the Cabinet of Ministers

- I. The enclosed Statute of Jewish Community Self-Government, which changes, supplements or annuls the laws in question, has been approved.
- II. The Jewish Community Councils, existing at present on the basis of the Law of December 2, 1917, continue their work by virtue of this Law until election of new Jewish Community Councils, which shall take place within two months from the day of promulgation of this Law.
- III. Within two months from the day of the publication of this Law, the following institutions shall pass over to the jurisdiction of the respective Jewish Community Self-Government Organs:
 1. All Jewish educational, welfare, sick-nursing, and sanitary institutions which do not belong to private persons, societies or associations, and which function on the basis of special Statutes or without any Statutes; likewise, the Jewish institutions which on the basis of general or special laws are being managed by, or in whose management are participating city or provincial administrative organs, or the autonomous organs of the provinces, districts or villages.

Note: All state Jewish educational and scientific establishments together with their property and inventory that belong to them or are entrusted to them as well as the Jewish State schools, teachers' colleges and other educational institutions are to be given to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs for administration.

2. All capital and all inventory that have been and are at the disposal of, or have been assigned to, the Jewish institutions mentioned in Art. III., 1.

3. Jewish cemeteries.

Note 1: Fund needed for the organization and maintenance for institutions mentioned in Article III. shall be appropriated by State Treasury and by city organs, and shall be transmitted to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs or to the respective Jewish Community Councils for their disposal.

Note 2: The fixed property of the institutions that have been mentioned in Art. III. 1 and 2 of this decree pass over to the management of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs or of the respective Jewish community self-government authorities on the strength of this law without other additional laws being required, taking into consideration the Agrarian Laws of January 8, 1919.

IV. Within two months from the day of the publication of this Law, the balance of the income from collections and candle sales shall be submitted to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs which shall deposit it in its account in the State Treasury for the purpose of remitting it to the Community Councils. For the purpose of liquidation of contracts with the lessees of collections, the Jewish Community Councils by agreement with respective City Governments shall appoint special Liquidation Committees on the principle of parity. The decisions of these committees are subject to the approval of the Jewish Community Councils and of the City Councils.

Note: In case there is no agreement between the Liquidation Committees and Community Councils or City Councils, the whole matter shall be put—with the consent of the Minister for Interior Affairs and the Minister of Justice—before the Minister for Jewish Affairs who in agreement with the Minister for Interior Affairs, and of Justice shall make the final decision.

V. On the ground of corresponding changes in the respective statutes, the right of the Jewish Community Self-Government Organs is to be acknowledged to, or to participation in, the management of various Jewish community establishments and property which are

not mentioned in Art. III. of this Law, and whose special by-laws grant the right of management to the following persons:

1. An assembly of resident well-to-do Jews.
2. The management of synagogues and Jewish elementary schools.
3. City, district, county and village self-government organs.
4. Other organs and establishments.

Note: The property of Jewish synagogues and Jewish elementary schools, which is set aside for religious purposes, shall also for the future remain as an exclusive management of the said institutions.

VI. The obligations of city administrative organs, which have been provided for in Art. 771, 794 (Para. 1, Part I., and Para. a and b of Part II.) and in Art. 918 of the Law on Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths (viz. The General Body of Laws, Vol. IX, of 1890), are to be transferred to the respective Jewish Community Councils and Committees which are subordinate to those organs, and at the same time the City Communal authorities, Citizens' Boards and other institutions are bound to remit to the respective Jewish Community Administrative Organs within two months from the day of the promulgation of this Law the register of families and the alphabetical list of Jews as well as the originals of the Jewish birth certificates together with all transaction documents and archives that belong to them.

VII. The obligations of rabbis concerning keeping of Jewish birth records, which have been provided for in Arts. 913, 915, 919 of the Law on Registration (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., of 1899), and in Paras. 1—4 of Art. 1327 as well as in Art. 1328 of the Statute on Spiritual Matters of Alien Faiths (General Body of Laws, Vol. XI., Part I., ed. 1896), are to be transferred to the Jewish Community Self-Governments. The rabbis are obliged to transmit within two months from the day of the promulgation of this Law all their transaction documents, birth certificates, private documents and archives to the respective Jewish Community administrations.

Note 1: The rabbis of localities where there is no Jewish Community Self-Government shall transfer birth certificates and other documents as well as archives to the nearest Jewish Community Administration in their District; these Community Administrations can empower some particular persons, on the strength of this

Statute of Community Administration, to keep birth records in the said communities until Community Administrations are installed there.

Note 2: The obligations of the Province Administrations concerning preparation and remittance of birth records, which have been provided for in Art. 438, Para. 8 (General Body of Laws, Vol. II., 1892) and Art. 914 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., 1899), pass over to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs.

- VIII. The effective range of Par. 1, Art. 63 of the Stamp Tax Law (General Body of Laws, Vol. V., 1903) is to be extended to include all cases which are sent to the Court by the Jewish Community Administration.
- IX. The effective range of the Law of Administrative Courts (Code of Laws and Decrees of the Government, 1917, No. 127, Art. 692) is to be extended to include grievance and protests against unlawful decisions, orders, actions and negligence of establishments and officials of the Jewish Community Self-Government.
- X. In Art. 438, Para. 33 of the General Province Statute (General Body of Laws, Vol. II., 1892, together with the continuation of 1912) the words: "money collections by Jews" are to be cancelled.
- XI. In Art. 794, Para. 2 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., 1899) the words "collection proceeds etc.", and in Para. 4 of the Same Article the words "of prayer-houses" are to be cancelled.
- XII. Art. 913, Para. 1 (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., 1899) is to be supplemented as follows: "the names of each male and female child with the dates of their birth and names of their parents."
- XIII. Art. 1445 of the Penal Law (General Body of Laws, Vol. XV., 1885) is to be supplemented as follows: "for negligence in keeping Jewish birth records the respective officials of the Jewish Community Administration are responsible. They are subject for each negligence to the penalty provided for in Art. 1444." Part 2 of Art. 1445 as well as the note thereto are to be annulled.
- XIV. Part II. of Art. 1579 of the Penal Code (General Body of Laws, Vol. XV., 1885) is to be supplemented as follows: "The officials who are guilty of having twice violated the law shall be punished by sending them for four years to the Prisoners' Corrective Department."

XV. Arts. 739 and 711 (General Body of Laws, Vol. I., Part 2, 1892), Art. 95, Note 2 to the Decree concerning city communal administration, 1915 (General Body of Laws, Vol. II.), Art 794, Para. 8, letter D and SH, further Art. 816 together with the supplement, Arts. 916, 917, 919 beginning with the words "And is certified . . .", 920 and 921 of the Laws of Personal Status (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., 1899), Arts. 1306, 1310, 1321—1326, 1329—1341 and Arts. 1—23 of the Supplement to Art. 1336 of the Status of Spiritual Matters of Alien Faiths (General Body of Laws, Vol. XI., Part. 1, 1896), Art. 1053, Part 1 and Art. 1057 of the Penal Code (General Body of Laws, Vol. IX., 1885), likewise the judgement of the Russian Imperial Council, which was approved Dec. 31, 1851 (Second Full Code of Laws, No. 25 865) are to be annulled.

Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers:
(signed) Tchopivsky.

Minister for Jewish Affairs:
(signed) P. Krasny.

APPENDIX

to Article I.

of the Law concerning the Jewish Community Self-Government

THE STATUTE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY SELF-GOVERNMENT

Chapter I.

General Designations

1. The organs of the Jewish Community Self-Government, which now exist on the strength of the law of Dec. 2, 1917 (Supplement to the "Information of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic," 1917, No. 7) as well as those that have been newly created on the basis of this law, are to be considered as local public and legitimate organs which have been set up by authority of the law of January 9, 1918, about National-Personal Autonomy; these organs look after all affairs of public administration and economy of the Jewish communities.
2. A Jewish Community is the union of all Jews of both sexes whose names have been entered, as prescribed, on the list of names of the Nationality Register (Art. 3 of the Law concerning National-Personal Autonomy, January 9, 1918).

Note: If in a locality there are less than 200 inhabitants of both sexes who on the strength of this Statute are entitled to participate in the election to the Jewish Community Council, then this locality shall be incorporated with the nearest Jewish Community.

3. In the sphere of action of a Jewish Community Administration belong—within the limits set by this statute and by other statutes and laws relating to this matter—especially the following:
 - a) Keeping the local list of names in the Nationality Register.
 - b) Registration of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces of Jews living in the area under the jurisdiction of the community, and keeping of books prescribed by the Jewish Community Statute.

- c) Keeping of family lists and alphabetical registers of Jewish citizens.
- d) Management of fees and taxes that have been set for the benefit of the Jewish Community.
- e) Management of cash receipts and other movables and immovables of the Jewish Community.
- f) Care for the up-bringing and the education of the Jewish population; establishment, maintenance, and management of elementary schools and of various other educational institutions both of a general and special character, likewise participation in establishing, maintaining and managing such educational institutions; organizing of preparatory and continuation schools; care for establishment and maintenance of such cultural and educational institutions as: community libraries and reading-rooms, university extension courses, schools of music, lecture halls, exhibitions of a scientific informative type, museums, theaters etc.

Note: The legalization of educational institutions shall be granted by the Minister for Jewish Affairs.

- g) Safeguard of health of the Jewish population, efforts for improvement of sanitary conditions, and for combating infectious diseases in the area of the community; establishment of kindergartens, vacation-camps, and promoting of all kinds of sports.
- h) Care for relief for the poor Jewish population, establishment and maintenance for that purpose of houses with inexpensive dwellings, of places for night's lodgings, stations for feeding and tea-rooms, bakeries, warehouses and stores for selling necessities; establishment, maintenance and management of hospitals.
- i) Promoting productive work among the Jewish population and combating unemployment; organizing, maintaining and management of technical and agricultural schools, and courses for instructors; organizing continuation trade schools, promoting and proper shaping of trade education: establishment, maintenance and management of model workshops and dairies, fruit and vegetable gardens; organizing experimental and model stations, exhibitions and museums; assistance in procuring tools, instruments and materials; establishing and managing stores.
- k) Organizing low-interest credit, supporting cooperative stores, workshops and loan associations.

- l) Care for poor children and old people, organizing of relief for the poor; establishing, maintaining and managing welfare institutions, old people's homes and homes for infants etc.
- m) Providing relief for the Jewish population during natural calamities such as: flood, fire etc.; assistance for the transport and accomodation of refugees.
- n) Legal assistance to the Jewish population.
- o) Carrying out statistical inquiries among the Jewish population.
- p) Assistance regulating in emigration and the colonization of Jews; establishment, maintenance and management of information and emigration offices; promoting the organization of emigration associations, organizing of finance institutions and funds for the emigration and colonization of Jews; organizing of courses and lectures on problems of emigration and colonization.
- q) Representation of local Jewish population at State and local government for the purpose of protecting civil, political and national rights of Jews as well as protecting their interests within the limits of community jurisdiction.
- r) Participation through representatives in general state, province district, and local institutions on the basis of special rules prevailing in such cases.
4. For the purpose of covering expenses connected with administering the Jewish Community Self-Government, the Community Council levies and collects, in addition to the means which it receives on the strength of Art. 45, Para. 1 of this Statue, special duties and taxes among members of the Jewish Community (Art. 46—60 of this Statute).
5. The Jurisdiction of a Jewish Community Self-Government extends throughout the area of the locality in which it is placed, including the inhabited localities that have been incorporated with it (in this Statute, Art. 2 with note).
6. The Jewish Community Self-Government Organs have the right on the strength of general civil laws to acquire or dispose of, in the name of the Jewish Community, movables or immovables for or without recompense, to take possession of inheritances on the strength of bequests, to receive contributions, to close agreements, to issue promissory notes, likewise to prefer charges and to represent duly the community before a court, observing the rules which have been set up for city communal administrations (Art. 879, Note 4, and Art.

1282, Note 4 of the Code of Civil Procedure, General Body of Laws, Vol. XVI., Part 1, 1914).

7. To the Jewish Community Self-Government Organs shall be granted the right to enter unions and associations, further, to hold conferences for the purpose of unification of activities in reference to adjustment of general needs and tasks that lie within the competence of the said self-government organs. Associations, unions, and conferences of the Jewish Community Self-Government Organs are subject to the general regulations which are valid for district institutions, for city and village administrative organs.
8. The Jewish Community Self-Government possesses its own seal.
9. The Jewish Community Self-Government consists of a
 - a) Community Council,
 - b) Community Administration with its proper executive organs.

Chapter II.

A Jewish Community Council

10. The election method of a Community Council is defined by the provisional regulations of election of members of the Jewish Community Councils, appended to the Law of Dec. 2, 1917 (Supplement to the Journal of the General Secretary Office of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, No. 7, 1917).
11. Election to the Jewish Community Councils take place not later than two weeks before expiration of the mandate of the outgoing members of the Community Councils (Art. 12 of the regulations).
12. Members of the Community Councils shall be elected for the term of two years. The number of members of Council shall be determined according to the following table:

Number of Jewish electors in the Community	Number of councillors to be elected	Number of Jewish electors in the Community	Number of councillors to be elected
from 200 to 800	11	from 8 000 to 10 000	41
300 — 500	13	10 000 — 12 000	45
500 — 700	15	12 000 — 15 000	50
700 — 1 000	17	15 000 — 20 000	55
1 000 — 1 500	19	20 000 — 25 000	60
1 500 — 2 000	21	25 000 — 30 000	65
2 000 — 3 000	24	30 000 — 40 000	73
3 000 — 4 000	27	40 000 — 50 000	81
4 000 — 5 000	30	50 000 — 70 000	91
5 000 — 6 000	33	over 70 000	101
6 000 — 8 000	37		

13. Transferring of the right to vote from one member of the Community Council to another is not allowed.
14. If during the term for which he was elected, a member of the Council loses his active right to vote at Community Council elections or is absent from meetings of the Council during half a year, or resigns his membership in the Council, it shall be taken as withdrawal from membership in the Council, and the vacancy shall be replaced until the end of the term by the next candidate on the respective list of candidates for Council membership.
A candidate who has lost his active franchise shall be removed from the list of candidates.
15. The Community Council elects from its midst each year by secret ballot a presiding Committee of the Council consisting of a Chairman, his deputy, and a secretary. At the first meeting after the election of Council members until the election of the presiding committee the oldest member of the Council presides, if he gives his consent.
16. The Chairman of the Council and his deputies shall not occupy any paid posts in the Community Administration.
17. To the duties of the Executive Committee belong:
 - 1) Representation, if needed, of the whole Jewish population in dealings with other national communities as well as with communal and state offices or with official persons.

- 2) Checking of changes in the composition of the councils.
- 3) Setting the agenda for the council meetings.
- 4) Notifying the members of the council about the date of the meeting and its order of business.
- 5) Presiding at council meetings, and keeping minutes.
- 6) Other business and duties to which the Executive is bound on the strength of the decisions of the council within the limits of this statute.

18. The sphere of activity of the Community Council within the limits set by this Statute includes the following:

- 1) Discussion of, and decision in, all questions which belong to the competence of the Community Self-Government (Arts. 1 and 3 of this Statute); general directing power and inspection of its executive organs as well as carrying out proper measures in cases relative to the advantages and needs of the Jewish population.
- 2) Election of officials according to law, and fixing of salaries for those officials, eventually fixing the number of posts to be filled by election.
- 3) Creation of posts in the Community Administration, which have to be filled contractually within the limits of the budget which has been set for this purpose, and deciding upon the order in which these posts are to be filled.
- 4) Fixing the program of action for the executive organs of the Community Administration, and giving them proper instructions.
- 5) Examination of activity and accounts of the Community Administration as well as of complaints against its actions.
- 6) Discussing in detail and approving the balancing of accounts of the Community Administration.
- 7) Levying taxes and assessments no the basis of this statute, and establishing their level.
- 8) Granting delay and setting of terms for paying community fees and taxes, and for their full or partial payment in the cases specified in this statute; annulling of erroneously calculated taxes, and imposing fines in connection with community taxes and assessments.
- 9) Deciding upon the method of managing money and other movables and immovables belonging to the Community Administration, or

subject to its management and disposal, likewise of nursing, welfare and other institutions of public utility, which are under management of the Community Administration.

- 10) Acquisition, disposal and pledging of immovables.
- 11) Creation of special funds for special purposes.
- 12) Acceptance of debt obligations in the name of the Jewish Community, closing loan agreements for the needs of the community, and taking up short-term loans from special community funds.

N o t e : Detailed minutes of the meetings of the Jewish Community Councils shall be kept in two languages—in Ukrainian and Jewish.

19. Meetings of the Community Council shall be called by the Council Executive at the dates fixed by the Council. Besides, a special meeting shall be called on the proposal of at least a fifth of the Council membership, or of the Auditing Committee. In such cases the notification about the date of the meeting shall be made one week ahead of time.
20. The dates of the Council meetings for the purpose of examining the budget balancing accounts, and of other treasury reports of the Administration for the expired year shall be fixed for the month of May, and the meeting for discussing the Council budget for the ensuing year—for the month of November.
21. The meetings of the Council of the Jewish Community are to be open to the public.
22. The presence of the Chairman or of one of his deputies, and at least one third of the council members is necessary for the validity of the decisions of a Community Council.

N o t e : The special meetings which are called in the time of general calamity caused by war and other similar happenings contain a quorum when at least one fifth of the entire membership of the Council is present; however, the presence of the number of members fixed by Art. 22 of this Statute is necessary for deciding upon the questions mentioned in Art. 24 of this statute.

23. The questions under discussion shall be decided upon at the meeting of the council by an absolute majority of votes of the members present. In case of an equal division of votes, the motion under vote has been rejected.

24. For making a decision in questions relating to calling officials of the Community Administration to account, furthermore in questions of the disposal of immovables, and of changing the purpose of the application of special funds, likewise in questions of making contracts in the name of the community for a term over twelve years as well as for loans, securities, and insurance, the consent of at least two thirds of the present members is necessary.
25. Experts who are not members of a council may be admitted to meetings of the Community Council with its consent for the purpose of expressing their opinion; they shall have a voice in the discussion but not a vote.
26. The agenda for a meeting of the Community Council shall be set by special instructions approved by the council.
27. The following decisions of the Community Council are subject to the approval of the Minister for Jewish Affairs:
 - a) Relative to the disposal of immovables of the community.
 - b) Relative to loans, securities and insurance effected in the name of the community, which together with previous loans and debt obligations exceed the sum of receipts for the previous year.
 - c) Relative to assignments of money for construction of buildings and institutions, and for attaining aims that have been mentioned in this statute, if the value of buildings or institutions, or of expenditure for a single undertaking exceeds one third of the receipts of the community for the expired year.
 - d) Relative to the rate of an additional tax to the state income tax, which has to be levied upon the Jewish population.
 - e) Relative to the method of administering and of assuring the property and the immovables of the Community.
28. If the Minister for Jewish Affairs deems it impossible to approve any one of the decisions of the Community Council, which have been submitted to him on the ground of the above given Art. 27 of this Statute, then it is annulled, whereupon the Council shall be notified by adding the motives which served as the basis for the Minister's decision.
29. In case the action of a Jewish Community Council assumes an unlawful character, the Minister for Jewish Affairs is empowered to dissolve the Council in its given composition, and to order new elections.

30. The Community Council is empowered to appoint temporary planning and executing boards for the purpose of preliminary deliberation upon the subject to be put before the council meeting as well as for the purpose of management of various branches of the community economy and administration.

N o t e : The composition of boards as well as the sort of business to be put under their management, and their method of work require the approval of the Community Council.

31. For the purpose of examining the accounts and the activities of the Community Administration, the Community Council elects a special auditing committee for the term of one year, whose decisions are to be submitted to the council. Persons who occupy offices in the Community Administration cannot be members of an auditing committee.

Chapter III.

The Executive Board of the Community

32. The Executive Board of the Community is the highest executive organ of the Jewish Community and functions under the supervision of the Community Council.
33. The Executive Board consists of a Chairman and members of the board, the number of members to be fixed by the Community Council.
34. The chairman and the members of the Community Board shall be elected by the Community Council for a term of two years; to this post members of the Community Council as well as other persons may be elected, who have passive franchise to the Community Council.
35. The posts of chairman and of membership in the Community Board cannot be occupied by persons who are related with each other in the first two degrees, or related by marriage in first degree, likewise adopted parents, adopted children, or man and wife.

36. The Chairman and members of a Community Board, who have been elected from among the members of a Community Council have a vote at the council's meetings.
37. The salaries of the chairman and of the members of the Community Board shall be fixed by the Community Council each two years, and that, necessarily before their election, those salaries shall not be reduced before the expiration of the two-year term.
38. The duties of various members of the Community Board shall be defined by the Community Council.
39. The duty of the chairman of the Community Board is to exert a general inspection over the lawful settlement of matters on the part of the Community Board as well as of the institution and persons who are under his supervision.
40. The Community Board is charged with direct management of the economy and administration of the community, likewise the execution of the decisions with a view toward a general improvement in accordance with articles of this statute, of other corresponding statutes and laws, and of the decisions of the Community Council. Among the duties of the Community Board are especially the following:
 - a) Drawing up of reports, submitting to the Council of matters belonging to the Council's jurisdiction, and execution of decisions.
 - b) Preparing of projects of the community budgets, supervision over the receipts of community assessments and taxes, and over spending community funds in agreement with the budget; keeping of inventory records of the entire property of the community.
 - c) Auditing of community cash funds, property and work, likewise of all branches of activity of the institutions and officials of the Jewish Community Administration that are placed under the supervision of the board
 - d) Taking care of court cases and conducting of management affairs of the Community Administration according to the designations valid for city government (Art. 6 of this Statute).
 - e) Submitting of reports to the Community Council on its work, on the turn-over of community funds, and on the situation of the institutions that are placed under the council's responsibility.
 - f) Appointing of persons to, or dismissing from posts which are mentioned in Art. 19 of this Statute.

- g) Keeping of a general census of the Jewish population, of books with legal status of the Jews, and of the register of persons with community franchise, likewise rectification of birth records, and supplement the missing statements in the birth records about the legal status of the Jews.
- h) Execution of lawful mandates from state institutions and persons.

41. The questions placed before the Community Executive for consideration shall be decided by a majority of votes, and in case of equal division of votes the motion is rejected. If the Chairman of the Executive Board finds a decision of the board incompatible with law or with the decisions of the Community Council, he shall notify the council about it at its next meeting.

42. The allotment of duties between the chairman and the members of the Community Executive Board, the order of succession by members of the board to the position of chairman, the scope of work of community institutions, commissions, and persons to whom various branches of the community economy and administration have been entrusted, likewise all other regulations relating to the internal system of administration and of the executive organs that are under its supervision, shall be laid down by special instructions approved by the Community Council.

43. In order to support the Community Boards in their direct management of separate branches of community economy and administration, special persons and, if necessary, special Executive Boards shall be elected by the Community Council (Art. 31 and note). The Executive Boards shall be placed under the chairmanship of members of the Community Council.

44. The Minister for Jewish Affairs is empowered to undertake, with the assistance of individuals that have been appointed for that purpose, auditing and examination of work of the institutions of Community Self-Government, and to demand from them submission of reports and explanations, likewise to hold responsible before criminal courts individuals guilty of embezzlement, making them personally liable for damages.

Chapter IV.

Income of the Jewish Communities.

A. General designations.

45. The sources of the income of the Jewish Communities are the following:

- 1) Assignments from general state funds as well as from the funds of autonomous province, district, and village Community authorities, likewise from city and town administrations.

Note 1: The assignments mentioned in this paragraph take place according to Art. 5 of the Law concerning National-Personal Autonomy, issued on January 9, 1918, proportionally to the number of the Jewish population, and for the matters that belong to the sphere of activity of the Jewish Community Self-Government.

Note 1: The assignments acquired according to this paragraph shall be used exclusively for purposes for which they were destined.

Note 3: With money coming by way of assignments from general state funds the Ministry for Jewish Affairs defrays the expenses of its department as well as expenses of the separate communities and institutions that are connected with those communities.

Note 4: Until Provincial and District Unions of the Jewish communities have been organized (Art. 7 of this Statute), the assignments from the Provincial and District Autonomous Bodies (*Zemstvos*) must be delivered to the Ministry for Jewish Affairs which shall distribute these sums among the respective Jewish communities according to their needs.

- 2) The additional tax paid by the Jewish population to state income tax. (Arts. 45—52).
- 3) Inheritance tax. (Arts. 53—56).
- 4) Assessments and taxes of the Jewish population, which have been levied by special laws.
- 5) Revenue from money and other property, from enterprises, current income of the Jewish community.

b) Various occasional donations for the benefit of the community such as: subsidies, contributions, gifts, donations from wills etc.

N o t e 1: The persons who have withdrawn from membership in a Jewish community before the expiration of a certain year shall not be released from tax and duty obligations (Paras. 2, 3, and 4 of this article) for the whole current calendar year:

N o t e 2: The State court, administrative and customs authorities, the officials of all departments, the city, district, county and village self-government organs, likewise communal, insurance and credit institutions are bound to grant to persons authorized by the Jewish Community Administrations, if so desired by them, the right of looking through and using in extracts the needed reports as well as to give them various possible information, documents, acts of operations, in short, all material relating to assessments and taxes from the Jewish population for the benefit of Jewish communities (Paras. 2, 3, and 4 of this article).

N o t e 3: The payment of all kinds of arrears and fines as well as of duties and taxes for the benefit of Jewish communities by the Jewish population takes place (Paras 2, 3, and 4 of this article) in accordance with the designations of the statute concerning satisfaction of incontestable claims of the state treasury (General Body of Laws, Vol. XVI, Part. 2, 1910).

B. Additional taxes of the Jewish population to state income tax.

46. The additional tax of the Jewish population to state income tax to be fixed in the sum not higher than 50% of the rate of state income tax.

N o t e 1: The rates of additional taxes must be equal for all persons subject to the income tax.

N o t e 2: One third of the tax receipts mentioned in this article shall be placed at the disposal of the Ministry for Jewish Affairs, which should constitute its special fund.

47. The lists of the community members subject to the additional taxation as well as the record of the additional tax receipts shall be kept by the Jewish Community Administration.

48. All Jewish community members are bound to inform the Community Councils within two weeks after the publication of their decision con-

cerning the payment of additional taxes, in which district they pay the state income tax.

49. The calculation and levy of additional income tax receipts shall be carried out by the Jewish Community Administration according to the stipulations made in the statute concerning state income tax.
50. The additional tax shall be paid by the persons subject to taxation within one month from the day of the receipt of the tax lists to the local state treasury to the account of the Jewish Community, or to the community treasury according to the instructions of the Community Administration.
51. In case of failure to pay additional tax after one month from the day of the receipt of the tax list, the additional tax becomes overdue, and at its collection a fine shall be imposed at the same rate as in the case of the state income tax.
52. The additional taxes for 1919, which have been calculated on the basis of the receipts of 1918, shall be paid by the community members independently of the time of the Community Council's decision about the rate of the income tax for that year.
53. A taxpayer has the right of complaint, in the course of one month from the day of the receipt of the tax list, against the decision of the Community Administration to the administrative department of the proper District Court. Lodging of an appeal does not stop payment.

C. Additional inheritance tax.

54. In case of the death of a member of a Jewish community, all possessions of the diseased shall be subject to the inheritance tax for the benefit of the Jewish Community in the territory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, in which the deceased was a permanent resident, and if that is not known, for the benefit of that Jewish Community in which he has been buried; if, however, this also is unknown, then the inheritance tax shall be collected by that community in the territory of the territory of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in which the largest part of his possessions be to be found.

Note: Beside the property which has been specified in this Article (54), the following items are subject to inheritance tax: gifts which were made to the inheritor not sooner than one year before death of the deceased (among them also gifts in case of

death) except those gifts which do not exceed 1 000 karbovanets per year for each person as well as those which were made more than one year before the death of the deceased, from which, however, the deceased reserved for himself a certain income or profit.

55. The inheritance tax from the whole of the inheritance is to be calculated as follows:

From an inheritance valued at: from 5 000 to 10 000 karbovanets — 1%, from 10 000 to 20 000 karbovanets — 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, from 20 000 to 50 000 karbovanets — 2%, from 50 000 to 70 000 karbovanets — 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, from 70 000 to 100 000 karbovanets — 3%, from 100 000 to 200 000 karbovanets — 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, from 200 000 to 500 000 karbovanets 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %, over 500 000 karbovanets — 5%.

Note: The tax rates given in this article shall be collected at the passing of the inheritance or of its part to the surviving husband or wife, or to the relatives in direct line—to parents or children. The inheritance tax from an inheritance which passes over to step-children, to full brothers or sisters, to half brothers or sisters—that is to those who are brothers or sisters on the side of father or mother only—likewise to the children of the deceased brothers and sisters, or to relatives to the third or fourth degree, shall be collected in the proportion one and one half times higher than the above named rates. The taxes from an inheritance that passes over to relatives more distant than the fourth degree, or to persons related by marriage, or to other persons, shall be levied twice as high as the common rates.

56. The inheritors are bound to give information to the proper Community Administration about the state of the inheritance within one month from the day of their receipt of the inheritance, and to pay to the community treasury the due amount of taxes, in default whereof,

a fine shall be collected from the inheritor in the sum which is generally proper at the collection of direct taxes.

57. If no declaration about the contents of the inheritance is made within one month, then these contents shall be determined by the organs of the Community Administration which shall collect the due taxes by way of a settlement out of court in the presence of the inheritor, or of the inheritance trustee as his representative. The inheritor or inheritance trustee may file complaint within one month from the day of receiving the notification about the due inheritance tax against the decision of the Community Administration, namely to an arbitrator or district court dependent on the sum of taxes according to general stipulations of legal procedure (Arts. 52 and 2).

58. If according to the calculation of the proper authorities the value of the inheritance is shown by the inheritor to be lower than it is in fact, a tax shall be collected twice as high as the rates given in Art. 55 and in its note.
59. Court authorities shall issue no copies of their decision about the right to succession of the inheritor, and about the approval of the testament until the proper Community Administration has sent in a report that the inheritance tax due to the community has been paid.

N o t e: In case the taxes from the inheritance bulk are collected by the inheritance trustee, the taxes shall be calculated in the same way as from unrelated persons, in connection with which the inheritor has the right to recover the difference of the collected sum within the term of one year.

Chapter V.

Expenses of Jewish Communities.

60. The lawful expenditure of the Jewish Communities is the following:
 - 1) Payment of corresponding sums as loans and dutiful expenses as well as in discharging obligation entered into by the community, among them: payment of salaries, pensions, and other regular subsidies to the collaborators of the Jewish Community Administration.
 - 2) Payment of subsidies to various organs, institutions and bureaus for the purpose of organiizng and supporting educational, welfare and other establishments of public utility on the strength of special decisions by the Community Council, and generally.
 - 3) Settlement of all payments and disbursements that have been imposed upon the Jewish Community by laws and by decisions of the Community Council.

N o t e: In the Community Council's decision about granting subsidies for the purpose of establishing and supporting of public

utility institutions (Art. 60, Par. 2) there must be specified the period for which the subsidy has been granted.

61. After the payments that are mentioned in Art. 60 have been settled the community receipts can be applied also for other purposes of the community within the authority of the Jewish Community Administration.
62. The profit from community capital that is destined for special purposes can be used only for such needs for which this capital was assigned.

Chapter VI.

Budget of the Jewish Community.

63. For the purpose of collecting community taxes and assessments as well as for covering the expenses to meet the needs of the community, budgets shall be drawn up each year.
64. Each decision of the Community Council relating to expenses cannot be carried out before the corresponding credit has been approved either in a general annual budget or in some additional budget, with the exception of those decisions which have been made in exceptionally important cases, e. g. in times of a natural calamity, during a state of war etc.
65. The budget contains:
 - 1) All obligatory expenses of the Community (Art. 60).
 - 2) The reserve fund that consists of 1%—2% yearly deductions from the income for the purpose of balancing possible deficits, and for unforeseen expenses; independently of this, extraordinary expenses shall be entered on the list of expenditures according to the judgement of the Community Council (Art. 60).
66. The Community money that remains over the fiscal year without any definite purpose of application, shall be assigned to fill up the reserve fund, aside from the settlements mentioned in Art. 65, Para. 2.

67. Assignments and loans from the reserve capital can be paid out in case of need with the approval of the Minister for Jewish Affairs.
68. The receipts and expenditures which have been entered in the budget shall be classified in articles, paragraphs and smaller sub-divisions. Each article contains as far as possible all expenses which serve uniform purposes.
69. Each item of expenditure must be justified by exact references to laws and decisions of the Community Council as well as by explanatory facts and calculations.
70. The plan of the community budget as well as the proposals concerning basis of distribution of community expenses and taxes shall be drawn up by the community administration and submitted to the examination and approval of the Community Council not later than November 1 of the year previous to the financial year.
71. If the annual budget of the community has not been approved by January 1 of the fiscal year, the general as well as the supplementary budget of the previous year remains in force in the amount of the twelfth for each month until the new budget is approved.
72. The additional expenses, taxes, and assessments of the community entered in the annual budget shall be established in the same way and on the same basis as the expenses, taxes and assessments of the annual budget.
73. In executing the budget, the Community Administration can employ the credits which have been provided by separate articles only for such purposes which according to their nature fall under such articles; the transfer of unexpended balances from one article to the other is permitted only on the strength of the decisions of the Community Council. The transfer of credits from one paragraph to another within the same article is permitted only on the basis of the decision of the Community Board.

Note: Transfer of unexpended surpluses that exceed 3000 karbovants can be made with the approval of the Minister for Jewish Affairs.

74. The right of disposal of credits is placed in the hands of the officials who are at the head of institutions and establishments, for whose maintenance the respective credits have been granted. The Community Board shall prepare each year a list of the officials with the sums of credits that are at the disposal of each of them; the list requires the approval of the Community Council. The authority of

the officials with the right of disposal shall be defined by instructions of the Community Council.

75. Each transaction by the official with the right of disposal as to payment of money shall be endorsed by the signature of the book-keeper or of his deputy, whereby he confirms the following: that the expenses have been foreseen in the budget, that the credit is not expended, that the expenses are in accordance with the statutes, rules, contracts, transfer acts and other documents; thus he proves the legality of the disposal.
76. Economic transactions for the benefit of the community shall be carried out by means of leases, sales, or delivery agreements, or by Community Board instructions. The selection of means for carrying out various economic transactions belongs to the Community Council. If there are no decisions of the Community Council in reference to the expenditures, the right of selection of means passes to the Community Board.
77. The agreements entered into in the name of the community in executing the approved budget are binding for the Community which also bears a pecuniary responsibility for the fulfillment of those agreements.
78. The annual report on the factual execution of the budget shall be prepared by the Community Board and submitted to the Community Council for approval not later than May 1.

Chapter VII.

Responsibility of the Community Self-Government and of the officials.

79. Individual persons, associations and institutions, in case of violation of their civic rights by the Jewish Community Self-Government, have by law the right of complaint (Art. 4 of the Civil Process Procedure, General Body of Law, Vol. XVI, Part 1, 1914).

80. Protests by a provincial commission, or accusations by individual persons, associations or institutions against unlawful decisions, instructions, actions or negligences on the part of the organs or the officials of the Jewish Community Self-Government may be entered at administrative departments of district courts. The bases for protests and accusations as well as the method of their entering are defined by Arts. 11—13 and 18—34 of the Laws and Ordinances of the Government, 1917, No. 127, Art. 692).
81. All other complaints against community boards, except those which have been mentioned in Art. 8 of this Statute, shall be made before the Community Council.

N o t e : The decisions of the Community Council in regard to these complaints are subject to examination by the Minister for Jewish Affairs.

82. The officers of the Jewish Community Self-Government are subject to the same penal and civil laws for malfeasance in office, which apply to officers of city communal administrations on the strength of the law of April 2, 1917 concerning Penal and Civil Responsibility of Employees (Collection of Laws and Ordinances of the Government, 1917, No. 86, Art. 4920).

Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers:
(signed) Ch o p i v s k y.

Minister for Jewish Affairs:
(signed) P. K r a s n y.

